

THE
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ART. I. — PREACHING, AND THE AFTERNOON SERVICE.

THERE is too much preaching. There is too much preaching for the preacher. There is too much preaching for the hearer. Channing once said to the writer of this article, "I think there are too many sermons. One in a month, perhaps, — an earnest one, listened to with interest as an unusual privilege, — would make more impression." He did not mean, of course, to recommend so great a change; but to present his thought with the form of contrast. An aged and eminent clergyman still among us, it is well known, — one of a kindred school and spirit, — for many years of his active ministry, withdrew his main strength from the pulpit, to give it to parochial visitation. It is really time to raise a doubt about this much preaching.

There is too much preaching for the people. Choose the most interesting subject in the world besides religion, — let it be some science or art, or some practical interest of life, as education or politics, — or a combination of all subjects, the subject of all subjects, the philosophy of life and of humanity, — and what would be the effect on the public mind of two discourses a week upon it, the year round and life through? Suppose it were treated in the most methodical and scientific manner, and carried

the mind forward from step to step, and to the highest point of culture ; what would be the effect of so much teaching ? Would not the pupils grow weary of it ? What class could bear unending philosophy courses ? But now suppose the discoursing were desultory and vague, although sincere and earnest ; that it seldom opened any fresh fountains or unfolded any new facts ; that it did not carry forward the mind with any decided steps, but left it in age very nearly where it was in youth ; then what would probably be the effect ? Would it not be a great weariness of such teaching ? Would there not be a great merit in attending upon it ? Should we not hear men enumerating it among their most meritorious actions and greatest sacrifices to conscience, that they had not missed a single lecture for the whole year ? Suppose one of the lecturers were to say, what a preacher was heard to say one Sunday evening, that he had delivered five discourses that day, — even that would be a great merit ; but it would be nothing to the merit of having heard them.

Can it be well that religious instruction should be so arranged as necessarily to produce this feeling of repletion, dulness, weariness ? One sermon a Sunday would be strain enough upon the capacity of the hearer to be interested. The plan of one sermon a Sunday would be perilous enough ; and it may be said that the supposition just made militates almost equally against that. And so it does, unless preaching be something different from what it commonly is, a stately and formal discourse, — unless it so mingle and blend with the devotions of the people as to breathe into their souls and bear up the offering of worship, which is for ever interesting. But if preaching be this great, and solemn, and touching spiritual ministration which fills the soul with worship, with adoration, with sacred and overwhelming sense of the truths uttered, even then the ministration should not be repeated the same day. The same train of thoughts cannot be carried with equal effect into a second service. Another train of thoughts equally touching and impressive will only displace the first. The whole matter of the day's meditation will be vague and confused. The hearer will not carry the same distinct impression with him into the week, which one discourse might have given

him. The next day he will not know, probably, what was the subject of either discourse. But if the effect of so much preaching, even of the highest kind, is thus questionable, far more so is that of the ordinary preaching. It falls with stunning effect upon the public ear; and the sufficient proof of this fact is, that, in general, preaching is proverbially the dullest thing in the world.

These will probably be thought to be very rash words. What, it will be said, is to be done with the afternoon of Sunday? What is to be done with the second service? These are questions to be answered when they are fairly reached. If there were no difficulties about the afternoon service, all this would be not only rash, but superfluous and irrelevant. If there were no intrinsic difficulties, then there would be nothing to be done but to lay the blame on the religious indolence or apathy of the people. It is well known, however, that there are difficulties, and it is believed that there are intrinsic difficulties; and it is believed, too, that the time has come for them to be plainly dealt with. But let us proceed.

There is too much preaching for the preacher. There is a strain upon the powers of the preacher, both in preparing and in delivering so many sermons, that is very little understood. The sermon, it is to be considered, is not what it was fifty years ago. It costs far more effort. It does not fall into the beaten track of custom, — at least not with the true men of the age. It cannot be extracted from books or bodies of divinity. It does not consist of a first, and secondly, and thirdly, and a conclusion or improvement. It is more practical. It deals more with life, and the life-conscience, and the varied interests of life; in short, it is a far more original production. The work is as if a poet should write a poem every week, or a lawyer should make a great plea every week. No man could bear it. "No man," said a very eminent physician, whose name would, if quoted, be the highest authority, "no man can put forth his utmost intellectual strength in a sermon or speech every week, and live, or, at any rate, live in health. At least," said he, "I never knew any man but Kirkland that could do it. You must write three sermons carelessly, *currente calamo*, on some easy theme, or in an easy way. Upon the fourth, i. e. once a month, you may lay out all your strength." "Yes," was

the reply, "but here is the difficulty. Where is the easy theme to be found, and how is the easy way to be discovered? There is no small case for the preacher, as there is for the lawyer. Every point in religion is to fixed thought like the burning-glass when its rays are steadily concentrated upon one spot; it must kindle every thing into a flame. No theme can really touch the conscience and the highest welfare, but it will lay hold upon every energy and feeling; and even then, all effort to do it justice comes far short."

There is too much preaching, let it be repeated, for the preacher. First, he writes too many sermons. Formerly clergymen wrote three, four, five thousand sermons in a life, and lived easy and well to a great age. They cannot do so now. Where, in our pulpits, are the aged ministers? There are some that are looking old, at the age of fifty or fifty-five; and no wonder. No preacher should ever think of writing more than one sermon a week, and that is too much. But if he writes but one sermon a week, and preaches two, what follows? He must repeat his sermons. And what then? Why in five or ten years, if not sooner, his sermons have been repeated till they will bear repetition no longer; and then he must leave the parish. This, more than any thing else, perhaps, accounts for what is felt by some to be a great scandal in our day, — the unsettled condition and almost nomadic wandering of our clergy. The people complain of it; the public journals cast reproach upon it; and, if they hear of a man who has kept his pulpit twenty or thirty years, laud the instance as a kind of redeeming marvel of the times; but if there is to be any essential relief from the difficulty, it must be found in the demand for fewer sermons.

Secondly, the preacher preaches too many sermons. Too much is required of him in this way, whether the reasonableness of the thing be considered, or the health of the man, or the effect upon his mind. It is unreasonable. Let it be understood, that not only the sermon, but the other services, are to be taken into the account. Earnest prayer is more exhausting than preaching. To this whole service, then, of devotion and discourse, suppose that a man has given himself for an hour and a half, with the utmost intensity of all his thoughts and

feelings. It is unreasonable to ask him to do that again, two or three hours afterwards. It is not in human nature to do it, with the fresh and living earnestness that properly belongs to such a service. It could be more easily done immediately. In two or three hours the whole system is run down to the lowest point. The exhaustive effect of the service is most felt then. In the first hour after service, the effect is not so much exhaustion as suffering; many persons, immediately after such an effort, feel a pain in their bones, a racking of the nerves, and as if they wanted to lie down upon a board or upon some hard place, — if the reader can understand what that means. But to this, after a time, succeeds utter languor. And then it is wrong to preach and pray again. It is, one is tempted to say, a kind of sacrilege. Many a preacher has felt what an earnest man was lately heard to say, "God forgive me my afternoon services!" He remembers the words, "And will ye offer the lame for sacrifice?" He could better speak to men if that were all; but to offer a solemn and prolonged service of prayer to God, in such a state of debility and languor, is something dreadful. Let not this be thought to be overstrained sentiment, or an overstrained account of the matter. It is simple truth. It is a terrible reality to many an earnest man. Few hearers, perhaps, comprehend what is this stupendous service of prayer and meditation. Many look upon it as something professional, mechanical, a matter of course; they see no reason why it cannot be repeated two or three times a day. They are mistaken! They are mistaken, that is to say, unless the system has made the preacher mechanical; and then it is no matter how much he preaches, and not much matter how little. But a man really alive and in earnest will suffer in the way here stated, — will suffer in conscience, too, — in the consciousness that he is called to perform a service for which he is religiously unfit. The celebrated Edward Irving, who, with all his mistakes, was a really earnest man, while drawing crowds to his church in Hatton Garden in the morning, fell into such an ordinary strain of discourse in the second service, that one could hardly recognize him for the same man: and he plainly said, "You demand a second sermon of me, and I will give it; but I cannot preach; I will read a dis-

course to you." Every strong preacher will feel the same thing, and if he arouse himself, as Mr. Irving would not, to do all in his power, still a discerning hearer may easily see the difference, — a certain tone of sadness or depression in the prayer, and in the sermon, not the true, deep, welcoming, joyous, free outburst of the heart, but a certain unnatural or diseased earnestness, as if, indeed, the theme could never be uninteresting, but as if it fell on sore and sick nerves. One wants to preach on death, or hell, or sin, or sorrow, in such a frame, and it will be found, probably, that most sermons of the dark and mournful cast do come in the afternoon. It will be hard then to speak of the love and goodness of God, for the mind is not in the buoyant state that is fitted for the theme.

And all this, though it is of less consequence, must have an effect upon the health. The clergy — at least within the range known to most of our readers — are more out of health than any other profession. There are scarcely any old men among them. More of them travel abroad every year for their health, than of all other professions. Mr. Southey remarked that fact to the writer many years ago.

Then, again, upon the mind of the preacher, this incessant repetition of his great task must have an injurious effect. The spirit of routine is the great peril of the profession, as sympathy with suffering is its great trial. The mind is apt to be in a hot-bed of religious influences. The free, fresh, common air of life does not circulate enough in the preacher's study. His views of life, of duty, of religion, are liable to be unreasonable, extravagant, depressed, visionary. They want practicalness and common sense. They want a healthy tone. The people feel this, and give but half the weight to the preacher's words which the most solemn and momentous of all words should have. All this comes, in part at least, from over-work, from an over-excited brain and an over-burdened heart.

Thus much has been said with a view to prepare the way for the question, What is to be done with the afternoon service?

It is not to be concealed that there are difficulties about this service; that these difficulties are becoming ap-

parent in all Protestant countries, and especially in the larger villages and towns; that they are revealing themselves particularly among the more intelligent classes, wherever the pulpit leaves them any freedom to think and act for themselves. In Protestant countries it is that the difficulty is felt, for the Roman Church has nothing to do with it. It does not require its people to attend upon so much preaching. "Poor, blinded creatures," doubtless many a Protestant thinks, "that hear but one sermon a day, if so much!" The Roman Church has repeated masses, but not for the same persons. It has a numerous priesthood, and it is seldom that any of them preach twice on a Sunday. This much preaching, in fact, is a Protestant usage; it came in with Protestantism; it had its fitness for its time; the people wanted instruction; this new system wanted explanation; the laity could not read; books were rare; the pulpit was sole instructor. But now all this is changed; the need of so much preaching is diminished; the usage is wearing itself out. In London many of the churches are permanently closed in the afternoon. It is not uncommon to hear a man say in England that he always goes to church in the morning; that he never goes in the afternoon. In this country the same tendency is manifest. In many of our city churches the afternoon attendance is constantly declining; no efforts of the clergy can keep it up; nothing can keep it up, but a conviction wrought in the minds of the people that it is their bounden duty to come. They say, if they say what they feel, that they do not want to come; that they are heavy and dull after dinner; that they are likely to go to sleep; that they do not see that it is any advantage to them; that they can read better sermons at home than they are likely to hear at church. And they say what is true.

What, then, is to be done with the afternoon service? Several things may be proposed.

First, defer it till evening. It is, wherever the change has been made, an inexpressible relief to the preacher; it is an immense advantage to the hearer,—that is, if he proposes any rational benefit to himself in going to church. Both speaker and hearer come fresh to the service. The whole aspect of an audience is different from that of an afternoon service.

Some may object, that this would cut them off from a very agreeable family or friendly reunion to which they are accustomed on Sunday evening, and they may decidedly say that they cannot and will not consent to it. Be it so. Still, more, and many more, will go in the evening than in the afternoon. Experiment proves this beyond all doubt.

But it may be said, What will people do with Sunday afternoon if there is no service? Will it not be a dangerous innovation? Will it not lead to license and disorder? Does it produce this result in those congregations that defer the service till evening? Are our people so ignorant and undomestic, that they cannot spend an afternoon quietly at home in reading and conversation? And if they should walk abroad, would there be any harm in that? Even in the less instructed Catholic population of Europe, filling the streets and public squares with crowds, one seldom sees any thing that violates the decorum of the day. We talk about a Jewish rigor in Sabbath-keeping. Why, the Jewish Sabbath was a holiday compared with ours. There was to be a complete abstinence from work; but this was all in favor of the cheerfulness of the day. Jahn says it was observed very much as holidays were among other nations. The truth is, ours is not a Jewish, but a Puritan rigor.

Secondly, whether the service be in the afternoon or evening, let it be of an entirely different character from the morning service. One great and solemn season of prayer and meditation is enough for one day; let the other occasion be devoted to the instruction and enlightenment of the congregation, — in the knowledge of the Bible, in the history of the Church, in the biography of good men, in the boundless field of natural theology. The manner of this teaching might be varied to suit the subject and the convenience or the gifts of the preacher. Sometimes it might be by written discourse, sometimes by extemporaneous exposition, sometimes by easy instruction, as in a school. The teacher might stand up in the midst of the congregation, and, proposing his subject or passage of Scripture, say upon it, in an informal manner, what occurred to him, and then invite questions from those around him. He might find occasion, in such

easy and informal communication, to let drop many an important remark, for which, perhaps, he never finds place in his elaborate discourses. There is reason to believe that a congregation so instructed for ten years would become a phenomenon among our churches.

It were easy to multiply suggestions upon this plan. Let there be a good parish library collected in furtherance of it. Let there be a library-room built, as a pendant to every church, large enough for conferences and the Sunday School. Let the youngest children of the congregation be taught here during the hour of the afternoon meeting; all above twelve years old, upon the plan proposed, would be best instructed with the congregation at large; and the Sunday School teachers would not then, as now, have their whole Sunday employed in public services. In fine, let the congregation resolve itself into a Christian school. Let it say, "We meet once on Sunday for a great and solemn act of worship; we meet again to study our religion, its records, its history, its evidences, and the great book of God's teaching in the world around us."

Thirdly, in country churches, unless this plan is adopted, abolish the second service entirely. Make the one service longer, if it is desired. It might, perhaps, be divided into two parts, the worship-service and the school-service, each an hour long. This would be preferable to a long interval between the two.

The present plan is open to such great and serious objections, that it is surprising they should not have drawn attention, and led to the inquiry whether some change could not be effected. Observe a farmer's family, living three or four miles from church, and see what the Sunday routine must be; for it is all routine, and no quiet, or quiet meditation. All the morning is occupied with cares pertaining to the household, in doors or out doors, and the family has barely time to get to church in season for the morning service. In the interval of an hour or two between the service, they saunter about without any opportunity for reading or thought, or any thing else that is profitable or comfortable; or else they attend a prayer-meeting, which, under the circumstances, is very sure to be heavy and dull. After the second service they return home; and by the time they have taken their sup-

per and fed the cattle in winter, or attended to the dairy in summer, it is night. Here is a day without leisure, without repose, without reading, without private meditation, without any quiet family reunion, — wanting almost every thing that should characterize a Sunday, — a day of rest.

It may be said, that the people like it; that they are too quiet and solitary during the week; that they want to talk with one another and prefer movement to repose. Let the objection have whatever weight belongs to it; but is it enough to turn the day of rest into a day of routine, and driving about, and of total unrest? The people need to acquire habits of reading and self-communion. A day is given for mental and spiritual culture. Does this religious dissipation best answer the purpose? What might not a seventh day do, wisely devoted to the fulfilment of its proper ends? It might, in no great length of time, change the face of the world!

But whatever be thought of these suggestions, — and the writer would very gladly listen to better ones, — yet they certainly involve matters of great interest, — the utility of Sunday, and the vitality of the ministry.

The time must come when this seventh part of life will receive a new, and a new kind of consideration; when the question will be, not merely how to lay more restrictions upon the day, but how to give it more efficiency; when, like any other seventh part of the time of life, it will be subjected to the rational question, How can it be turned to the best account? It has been called the Lord's day, till it is forgotten that it is man's day, that it was "made for man." It has somehow dropped out of the account of time. No man asks what he shall do with Sunday, with a determination to do something, as he asks what he shall do with Monday or Tuesday; still less, with the same practical freedom of thought, to consider what he can best do with it. Every other day must have its business and purpose, its purpose well settled and its business well arranged, but Sunday may take care of itself.

Let the great claim of rest be fairly admitted. There is no intention in this communication to drive matters hard with any body. Let the plea be listened to that says, "I am weary; I am worn out with toil and care

and perplexity ; let me rest ; let me alone ; let me be alone, free from the janglings and importunities of the world ; let me have one day for myself." Yes, be it so ; be the day such, — a breathing-time in the race of life, a pause in its hurry and struggle, a sacred inclosure fenced in from the common world, as the first and best of all days.

But best it cannot be, nor happiest, if it be given up to utter indolence, to desultory wandering of the mind, to lounging upon beds and sofas. No mortal can pass a day in utter idleness, without finding it as wearisome as useless. Let there be rest ; but let there be a mingling with brethren and friends in holy and reverent worship of the Infinite Goodness ; and let there be private reading and thought ; and then let there be a walk to refresh the spirits ; and then let there be pleasant family communion. Let the man be awake, — bright and alive ; let him not fear that a merry saying or a joyous laugh will profane the day ; let him not bind down his faculties to superstitious stupor, speaking with constraint, and looking demure, and making a dismal ado of his religion, — making, in fact, the Sabbath day a sort of incubus upon his life.

It were positively better for a man to learn a language or study the mathematics on Sunday, and so to improve his mind, than to pass it in the way that many do. But there is a better thing than this ; and that is to devote the day cheerfully, rationally, freely, to the great training for which it is given, — to worship, to thoughtfulness, to the study of the Bible, to the study of nature, to the ever-onward progress that links these Sabbath days to the days of eternity.

Then for the vitality of the ministry, — the matters of this discussion much concern it.

Can any body tell why the greatest speeches in the world are not sermons, — the speeches, not of Demosthenes, and Cicero, and Burke, and Chatham, and Mirabeau, but of Massillon, and Robert Hall, and Channing ? They are not. Why are they not ? There is no subject so sublime, no interest so momentous, as that of religion ; nothing that ought so to call out all the faculties of a man in eloquent speech.

Now there are, doubtless, many reasons for this ; and before all stands as a reason the want of a true, a gen-

uine religious culture. The clergyman does not as truly and vitally apprehend the objects of his calling, as does the lawyer or physician his objects. He does not as distinctly see the connection of cause and effect as they do. His sermon is not to cure disease, like the doctor's prescriptions, or to cut to the quick, like the surgeon's knife, or to rescue property or honor, like the lawyer's plea. And yet, if he saw the truth, he would see that it goes deeper and sharper to the vitality of all things than any of these.

But next to this want of seeing and feeling the matter is the formalism, mannerism, routine, that have stolen over the sacred office. Preaching, in the manner of it, is like no other speaking. It is manacled, fettered, burdened, as with some spell of dulness. It wants the free and fresh tone of living earnestness. There are exceptions, doubtless, but this is the general character of it. Why is it? For this reason, it is believed, among others, that the preacher is put to the constant and endless repetition of the same thing over and over again. Upon the elastic spring of his mind there is a perpetual weight. It is almost impossible in these circumstances to resist the spirit of routine; and whatever can properly be done to abridge or vary his tasks should be done.

You complain that the preacher is uninteresting, dull, formal; and yet, with a strange sort of formalistic persistence of your own, you demand more and more of this same dull preaching, — as if every dull sermon you hear added to your chance of salvation. Why drive the preacher so hard, if you would leave any fresh life in him? You would treat your horse more wisely. Why set his brains seething every week with unnatural excitement, till they are sodden in dulness and formality?

This is a subject of uncalculated importance. The people take their leading and abiding impressions of religion from the preacher; and in making these impressions, his manner has as much effect upon them as his matter, — perhaps more. What a backward and half-depressed manner is there in almost all the prayers and readings of the pulpit! How seldom is a psalm of David read in a pæan-like tone! Dr. Mason used often to read a psalm in that tone; and it is remembered to this day quite as much as his preaching.

Let not innovation be dreaded as if it were destruction. There is no due sense of the honor, dignity, power, beauty, and everlasting vitality of religion, in the timid and obstinate protest against all change, as if it threatened to bring down the fabric of religion, and of the civil order too, upon our heads. There is no such danger. But there is danger in rigid and inflexible usage, danger lest the living letters of ever-changing truth settle into leaden stereotype, and never print any thing but the dogmas of superstition and the worn-out traces of dead custom.

The writer of the preceding pages has not made use of the pronoun *we*. For though the readers of this journal are well aware that all the opinions to which it may give expression are not to be taken with an editorial indorsement, it may be well in the treatment of some themes to avoid all misconstruction. The opinion of an individual has been here expressed.

O. D.

ART. II.—MASSACHUSETTS SANITARY SURVEY.*

THAT the best physical development of a community is a subject within the reach of legislative enactments, the "Report" before us abundantly proves. Nor is legislation on this subject a novelty. The sanitary laws in the Jewish code, touching uncleanness and purification, the allowance of certain meats only at specified seasons, and the prohibition at all times of certain others, were wise then, and are still much observed in Syria. The Spartan youth were trained for the severest athletic exercises by rigorous sobriety. Plato and Aristotle advocate health offices; and we are told, that Epaminondas, Demosthenes, and Plutarch served in those institutions. The Romans were yet more enlightened and efficient legislators on this subject. The *Cloaca Maxima* of the two Tar-

* *Report of a General Plan for the Promotion of Public and Personal Health, devised, prepared, and recommended by the Commissioners appointed under a Resolve of the Legislature of Massachusetts, relating to a Sanitary Survey of the State. Presented April 25, 1850. Boston. 1850. 8vo pp. 544.*

quins still serves as the great sewer of Rome; and the remains of the aqueducts show how vast were the supplies of pure water brought to the capital for its public baths and private dwellings. In Western Europe since 1350, when King John the Second established in France the first sanitary survey, other monarchs have occasionally followed the example of this pioneer reformer. In Great Britain very little attention had been given to the subject before 1825; but since then, Mr. Edwin Chadwick, aided by a few others, has aroused both government and people to an interest in the agencies of health and disease, and has thereby conferred durable good on his country and the world; for in the fifteen annual reports which he has published is wrought out this conclusion,—that *one fourth of all the pauperism in England and Wales is the result of preventable disease.*

Our own journal invited attention to this subject in 1843, in an article from the pen of Dr. Edward Jarvis, of Dorchester, a veteran in this department of philanthropy, whose efforts since 1830 have been unwearied and successful. His Boylston Prize Dissertation, written in 1845, on "The Influence of Climate on Longevity," his able paper read before the American Statistical Association in 1847, another read before the Medical Society in 1848, together with his Annual Address before the same Society in 1849, upon "The Production of Vital Force,"—these, with several other contributions to periodicals, have led to a series of applications to the Legislature, which were finally successful, and resulted in the appointment of the "Commission" whose labors we are now reviewing. In October, 1849, the Commission requested the councillors of the Massachusetts Medical Society to furnish them with any suggestions they might deem useful on the subject of a sanitary survey of the State, and on the best plan to be pursued, and with facts which might illustrate the subject. Dr. Jarvis was selected as the member best able to reply to this important request; and on page 252 of the "Report" begins his invaluable letter, which has hints that might be expanded into a philosophical sanitary treatise.

"Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas."

To gather reliable information on these topics from

other countries,—to ascertain the state of disease, and the moral and physical causes operating on the health of our people and on the increase of our population,—is a work worthy of all praise; and no one could have been more industrious or faithful in such an enterprise than Mr. Shattuck, who is the author of the “Report” under consideration. This gentleman, having collected a large sanitary library, and devoted himself for years to the work of gathering statistics of health and disease, of population and immigration, is eminently well qualified to give the best information, and to recommend the wisest measures. His writings on these subjects are very valuable. His method of taking the census and statistics of Boston, in 1845, has been adopted by other cities, and substantially by the United States for the census of 1850. Wherever called to labor in this difficult work, he has proved himself equal to the demand; and the “Report” alone would warrant this eulogy. We must thank the Commission for one of the most learned, accurate, and philosophical papers which our day has produced.

We fully accord with a London writer when he says,—“The discoveries in astronomy have not a more palpable application to navigation and commerce, nor the investigations in chemistry to manufactures, than have the statistics of health and disease to physical and moral regeneration.” The book before us, therefore, has a personal interest to every individual who wishes to live long and enjoy much. Its great purpose is to prove that man, in his physical and sanitary and social condition, is capable of a development far beyond what has been attained. The Commissioners say:—

“WE BELIEVE that the conditions of perfect health, either public or personal, are seldom or never attained, though attainable;—that the average length of human life may be very much extended, and its physical power greatly augmented;—that in every year, within this Commonwealth, thousands of lives are lost which might have been saved;—that tens of thousands of cases of sickness occur, which might have been prevented;—that a vast amount of unnecessarily impaired health and physical debility exists among those not actually confined by sickness;—that these preventable evils require an enormous expenditure and loss of money, and impose upon the people unnumbered and immeasurable calamities, pecuniary, social, physical, mental, and moral,

which might be avoided ; — that means exist, within our reach, for their mitigation or removal ; — and that measures for prevention will effect infinitely more than remedies for the cure of disease.” — p. 10.

Convinced that good, every way, must result from the investigation of this subject, the Legislature of Massachusetts, in May, 1849, passed a resolve authorizing the Governor to appoint three persons as Commissioners to prepare a plan for a sanitary survey of the State. Messrs. Lemuel Shattuck of Boston, Nathaniel P. Banks, Jr. of Waltham, and Jehiel Abbott of Westfield, were selected, and the work has been accomplished by the Chairman, approved by his colleagues, accepted by the government, and distributed by authority.

The contents of the volume are thus divided : — I. Sanitary Movement Abroad. II. Sanitary Movement at Home. III. Plan for a Sanitary Survey of the State. IV. Reasons for approving the Plan recommended. V. Objections answered. VI. Closing Appeal. VII. Bill recommended for Enactment. VIII. Appendix of Legislative, Medical, Scientific, Municipal, and Economical Documents.

With a completeness of plan, a collection of materials, an analysis of facts, an arrangement of proofs, and a caution of inference truly remarkable, the author has demonstrated that great sanitary evils now exist, that these evils are removable, and that no real and permanent improvement can ensue until they are removed. He does not regard questions concerning census, population, immigration, births, marriages, and deaths, as matters of curiosity, but as great philosophical truths, on which human elevation must be, in a great measure, based, and out of which individual and social progress may be educed.

As a specimen of the mode of proof adopted by the Commission, we will quote a few items deduced from the official documents of England, embracing results from a vast range of governmental investigations. These documents prove, that

“ There die annually, in each 100 of the population, of the whole of England, 2.27 ; of the most healthy district, 1.53 ; and of the most unhealthy district, 3.58. And that the living to one death are, in these districts, respectively, 44, 65, and 27.” — p. 46.

"It is proved that disease and mortality fall more heavily upon those who live in large towns and populous places, than in the country districts, and particularly upon those who live in narrow streets, confined courts, damp dwellings, close chambers, cellars, undrained, unventilated, and uncleansed ; and affect most severely the infantile portion of the population, and the heads of families between twenty and thirty years of age." — p. 47.

"It is proved that the annual mortality might be reduced, in the whole kingdom, from 2.27 per cent., or 1 in 44, to less than two per cent., or 1 in 50 ; and in all large towns, as low as that general average.

"It is proved that this unnecessary excess of mortality above 2 per cent. occasions an annual loss of more than 50,000 lives in the United Kingdom.

"It is proved that, of the 43,000 cases of widowhood, and 112,000 cases of destitute orphanage, relieved from the poor rates of England and Wales alone, the greater proportion of deaths of the heads of families occurred from specified removable causes.

"It is proved that the younger population, bred up under noxious physical agencies, is inferior in physical organization and general health to a population preserved from such agencies ; and that these adverse circumstances tend to produce an adult population, short-lived, improvident, reckless, intemperate, immoral, and with excessive desires for sensual gratifications." — pp. 47, 48.

It is proved that in London "there are about 266 deaths every week, nearly 38 deaths a day, or considerably more than one every hour, *over and above* what ought to happen in the common course of nature. Now, it has been calculated that, for every death which takes place, there are 28 cases of sickness which do not end fatally. We have, therefore, 387,296 cases of sickness occurring in the metropolis every year, which are unnecessary and preventible. 13,832 lives could be saved, — more than a third of a million of cases of sickness could be prevented." — p. 280.

Thus "infancy is made stunted, ugly, and full of pains, — maturity made old, — and old age imbecile ; and pauperism made hopeless every day." — *Ibid.*

Do not proofs like these, gathered from every part of Europe, speak with prophetic emphasis to the people of these United States ?

Let us glance at some proofs found in our own history, premising, however, that most of the epidemics recorded in the early history of Massachusetts might have

been relieved of their fatal character, to a very great extent, by the sanitary precautions which modern science and present experience suggest.

In 1678 small-pox prevailed in Boston ; “ seven or eight hundred are said to have died of it in the State. About this time ‘ the seasons were unfavorable, and the fruits blasted, while malignant diseases prevailed among the people. The sickness and bad seasons were attributed by our pious ancestors to the irreligion of the times, and to their disuse of fasting ; and a meeting was held to investigate the causes of God’s judgments, and to propose a plan of reformation.’ ” — p. 63.

1678. The selectmen of Salem “ ordered, that William Stacy, who is sick of the small-pox, doth not presume to come abroad till three weeks after this date ; and that he be careful that when the time be expired he shift his clothes, and do not frequent company till he be wholly clear of the infection.”

“ 1721. The small-pox again made its appearance in Boston, with more than its usual ravages and horrors, and was the occasion of one of the most remarkable and important events in the sanitary history of the State. *Inoculation with the virus of small-pox*, as a substitute for the disease taken in a natural way, — to disarm it of its malignity, and to reduce it to comparative mildness and safety, — was first introduced this year. Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, having read, in the transactions of the Royal Society of London, favorable accounts of the operation, recommended a trial of it to the physicians of Boston ; but all of them unanimously and decidedly opposed it, excepting Dr. Zabdiel Boylston. That enlightened and upright man became forcibly impressed with the importance of the discovery ; and, to show his confidence in it, made the first experiment on his own son, thirteen years of age, and two colored persons in his family, one two, and the other thirty-six years old ; and all with complete success. Subsequently, others were inoculated.

“ The controversies which accompanied the introduction of this useful measure were most disreputable. Many persons were struck with horror ; some thought it was sinning against God, thus to interfere with the disease ; and others, that, if any patients died, Dr. Boylston [who began the practice of inoculation] ought to be treated as a murderer. Pamphlets and newspaper articles frequently appeared ; and the populace, chiefly led on by the inflammatory conduct of the physicians, at the head of whom was Dr. Douglass, became so exceedingly enraged, that Dr. Boylston was frequently insulted in the streets, and forced to secrete himself for more than fourteen days, and afterwards to visit his patients only at midnight.” — pp. 64, 65.

As a specimen of the bitterness engendered by the controversy on *inoculation*, we quote the following grave conclusion of that same Dr. Douglass, in 1753. "In general," he says, "the physical practice in our Colonies is so perniciously bad, that, excepting in surgery, and some very acute cases, it is better to let nature, under a proper regimen, take her course, than to trust to the honesty and sagacity of the practitioner: our American practitioners are so rash and officious, the saying in the Apocrypha (Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 15) may with much propriety be applied to them, — '*He that sinneth before his Maker, let him fall into the hands of the physician!*'" Frequently, there is more danger from the physician than from the distemper."

"1763. 'In August, the Indians on Nantucket were attacked by a bilious plague; and, between that time and the February following, their number was reduced from 358 to 136. Of 258 who were affected, 36 only recovered.' The Indians on Martha's Vineyard suffered from the same fever. Not a family escaped. Of 52 attacked, 39 died. It was confined in both places to the Indians, and none but those of full-blood died!" — p. 68.

"1796. In Boston a very malignant typhus appeared on the 25th of August; and between that time and December many were sick, and thirty died. It created great alarm; some were buried in the night. Dr. John Warren, who wrote an account of it, says that the physicians were unanimous in the opinion that it originated from local causes. 'A very great portion of those taken sick were situated near extensive flats, particularly about the easterly, southeasterly, and westerly skirts of the town.'

"In this year, also, a very malignant dysentery and bilious fever appeared in Sheffield. It was confined principally to a section of the town not over one and a half miles in diameter, — in the vicinity of a pond known as Hubbard's Pond, — containing about 100 families, or 600 inhabitants. Of these, over 300 were sick, and 44 died, 12 adults and 32 children. Among 150 who lived near the pond, on the southeasterly side, less than 10 escaped. Of those on the westerly side, about 50 were affected.

"The cause of this remarkable sickness, and others of similar character, which that town suffered in other years, was attributed to this pond. A dam was built at the outlet, and, at times of high water, a large tract of land was overflowed. In dry seasons the water was drawn off, and large quantities of decomposing vegetable matter were exposed to the action of the sun,

which produced a poisonous exhalation, or *malaria*, which affected nearly all who inhaled it." — pp. 71, 72.

In the famous "Mill-dam case" tried in Litchfield, Connecticut, in January, 1800, where the question was, whether the building of a dam had caused the extraordinary sickness of the inhabitants, the report of the trial contains the following statement:—

"It was generally agreed by the medical gentlemen, that the bilious remitting fever and fever and ague of our country are produced by marsh effluvia; that this effluvia is caused by animal and vegetable putrefaction; that the action of the sun on vegetables or animals, upon the receding of waters from them, frequently causes this putrefaction; and that the months of July and August are seasons peculiarly favorable for the production of this effluvia, and its operation upon the human constitution. It was also agreed that water, though stagnant, does not become dangerous till it is so fetid as to offend the senses; and that while vegetables and animals are covered with running water they are innoxious." — p. 74.

Dr. Holmes, in his prize essay, says:—

"Mill-dams on the Housatonic and its tributary streams, by forcing the water, for miles above their location, into low grounds, marshes, and coves, and thereby producing macerating reservoirs of vegetable substance, produce foci of pestiferous exhalations, to which intermittents, in all their grades and varieties, have been obviously traceable." — p. 75.

"1815–16. This winter a typhus fever of peculiar malignity appeared. . . . In Attleborough, more than one hundred died of this disease in three months. In Rochester, fifty died. 'It is stated, as a fact, that this epidemic followed the course of rivers, tracing up the Accushnet and Mattapoiset, to the great pond in Freetown, and extending but very little beyond the meeting-house in Rochester, which has ever been one of the most healthy spots in New England, and where it is dry and sandy. Dr. Mann states, that scarce a person escaped this fever, who lived within a mile of the great pond in Sharon, where it prevailed so fatally. Six persons, of the family of Ashley, died of this fever in one house, situate near the great pond in Freetown.'" — p. 78.

Mr. Shattuck gives a table, compiled with great care, showing accurately a general view of the influences on human life and longevity, as existing in the State. It takes Boston, and exhibits the rate of mortality among its inhabitants at three different periods, and also among

those of an interior town whose average health has been ascertained. It will be found on page 82. The result is thus stated:—

“For all ages, the average rate of mortality for the last nine years, in Boston, was 2.53 per cent., or 1 in 39 of the whole population. In the country towns, in 1830, it was 1.49 per cent., or 1 in 67. In Boston, of those under five years of age, 9 out of every 100 died; while in the country, 3.05 only, or about one third as many, of the same age, died. At other ages, also, a great difference may be seen between the rate of mortality in the city and country, and between one period and another. A comparison of the table with that of England (p. 34) will show a very near agreement of the health of our country towns with that of the most healthy districts in England, and of Boston with London.”—p. 83.

We wish we could extract the table showing the action of the *seasons* upon health. It proves, among other things, that August and September are the most unhealthy months in the city, and October in the country.

The influence of *occupation* on health and longevity is very great, and our clerical readers may be interested in the following table.

“Of the *clergymen* who lived and died in Massachusetts, prior to 1825, the ages of 888 have been ascertained. Divided into periods, according to the time of their decease, the following is the result:—

		Aggregate Ages.	Average Age.
90 who died prior to 1700	had	5,560 years.	61.77 years.
123 “ 1700 to 1750	“	7,996 “	65.00 “
303 “ 1750 to 1800	“	18,957 “	62.55 “
372 “ 1800 to 1825	“	23,986 “	64.47 “
888	Totals,	56,499 “	63.62 “

“The Quarterly Register (Vol. X. p. 39) gives the aggregate ages of 840 clergymen, who graduated at Harvard University, and died prior to 1835, at 53,447 years; 63.62 years being the average age: 41 in each 100 attained the age of 70. This corresponds very nearly with the preceding statement; 62½ years may be considered as the average age of clergymen, in this State, during the last century, and prior to 1825. In the quarterly lists of deaths of clergymen, as given in the fifteen volumes of the Register, prior to 1841, the ages of 147 in Massachusetts are stated, amounting in the aggregate to 8,642,—averaging 58.79; and of 167 in other New England States, amounting in

the aggregate to 9,423, — averaging 56.42. The average age of 114, who died in the period covered by the Registration Reports, is given below, at 56.64 years. This shows an average decline in the longevity of clergymen of seven years." — p. 85.

We wish we had room to extract the valuable tables on "fatal diseases and causes of death," because the influence of disease is the surest test of the sanitary condition of a community. The pathologist and legislator may study these tables with vast profit. Under the head of Zymotic (i. e. epidemic, endemic, and contagious) Diseases, the conclusion is arrived at, that "these causes of death have doubled in the city (of Boston) within the last thirty years, and that the public health has been constantly growing worse." In the rural districts, the melancholy fact stands nearly the same.

With regard to *consumption*, which destroys from one seventh to one fourth of all who die, some singular facts are stated. It appears that the seasons do not exercise that controlling power over this disease which has been supposed. In Massachusetts, New York, and London the smallest number die in November.

"At the ages 20 to 30, the number of females who die of consumption is nearly double that of the males, — being 1,409 of the former to 708 of the latter. At the ages 30 to 40, the next in the number of its victims, it also selects from the sexes in nearly the same proportion." — p. 96.

In Massachusetts, in four years, 3,443 males and 5,384 females have died of this disease. In England, in one year, 24,048 males, and 28,088 females.

The chief aim should be to *resist the incipient stages*; for if consumption is ever to be eradicated or lessened among us, it must be done by prevention, and not by cure.

From these tables of death's doings may be detected those great laws which underlie all human society. Among other truths, they show the vast difference in the longevity of persons living in different localities; they show that similar causes exist in England and Massachusetts to produce, not only unnecessary and preventable sickness, but premature and preventable death; they show, moreover, that the active causes of debility are increasing among us of New England, and that the average du-

ration of human life is somewhat less than it was fifty years ago.

Having looked at the subject from an historical point of view, and suggested the means of preventing disease; and, furthermore, having drawn conclusions warranted by well-authenticated tables of statistics, the Commission proceed to the third division of their labors, which is, to propose a plan for the sanitary survey of the State. The propositions constituting the plan are drawn up with vast care and great good sense, and must commend themselves to every intelligent citizen. The measures embrace two classes of action;—one through the legislative authority of the State and the municipal authority of the towns and cities, and the other by social organization and personal effort.

Under the head of the State and municipal measures, which may be called the *Sanitary Police* of the Commonwealth, the Commissioners recommend, first, a revision of the laws relating to health. They have accordingly presented to the Legislature a draft of an act whose passage they recommend. The careful examination of this act must convince any one that these public agents have sounded the depths and shoals of the subject; and we trust the bill, in its main features, will soon become the permanent law of the State.

Among the remedial agencies proposed for the great sanitary evils which afflict us, and which threaten increasing devastation, is the establishment of a GENERAL BOARD OF HEALTH, to act as a central power for the whole State; and also a *Local Board of Health* for each town. The Commissioners recommend that this General Board consist of two physicians, one lawyer, one chemist, one civil engineer, and two other persons particularly skilful in sanitary science. To these are to be added a Secretary, who shall perform for the board what the Secretary of the Board of Education performs for that body.

We apprehend that such a board would be able, after a few years, to expound accurately the laws of health and life as they operate among us; to ascertain the causes of disease and the best modes of dealing with them; to explain the vital force and productive power of human life, and thereby to show how physical strength,

individual happiness, and social improvement may be secured. As old age is the only disease *natural* to man, it is quite time that these topics had arrested parental and legislative attention.

We have no space to speak of the *Local Boards*, although we see that they must be the right hand of the whole system. They will be to the plan what the wheels of a machine are to its motive power.

Nor have we space for the fifty "recommendations" touching the proposed survey. Two or three specimens must suffice. The Commissioners speak of the importance of ascertaining the causes of disease, and in order to secure intelligible descriptions they recommend a uniform nomenclature; and, moreover, they would classify the causes of disease into, I. *Atmospheric*; II. *Local*; and, III. *Personal*. They recommend certain arrangements in laying out new towns, in constructing school-houses, hotels, hospitals, manufactories, and public buildings, providing for the supply of soft water, for ventilation, and for cleanliness. They recommend that the local boards ascertain the amount of sickness suffered in different localities, and among persons of different classes, sexes, ages, and professions. They recommend rules with regard to cemeteries, and the burial of the dead; also, with regard to evils brought upon us by foreign immigration; also, with respect to the sale of quack medicines and adulterated food. Among the last items of advice is this;—that parents should understand the principles of health, and should make it a paramount duty to secure to their young children a sound physical development. We remember the last lecture delivered by Dr. Spurzheim, and in it he made this remark:—"Let the first seven years of every child's life be devoted to the natural unfolding of his physical powers, because this will lay the foundation for sound health through the whole succeeding life."

As specimens of the special sanitary survey of particular places, recommended by the Commissioners, we would mention those of Attleborough and Lynn. They are perfect in their way.

The reasons for approving the plan proposed are next brought forward, and then the objections which have been imagined. Of these objections there seem to

us but two which have even the show of force. The first is, "It will alarm the people." Well, what if it should? We hope it will alarm every man, woman, and child in the Commonwealth, and then we shall begin to look for some efficient action in the matter. The other is this,—"It will interfere with Divine Providence." Some, doubtless, will say, when sickness comes, "It was so ordered, and so it must be." This old doctrine of fate is kept young by the ignorance of mankind. It would be of small use to say to this class of objectors, that the forces of life on which health and longevity depend are as fixed as the laws of gravitation, and, like those laws, can be used by us for our safety or destruction. They have no eye to see the fact, that like causes in this department must produce like effects, as certainly as light, heat, and moisture produce vegetation, while darkness, frost, and drought prevent it. We might tell them, that, to be consistent with themselves, they should not plant in spring, nor send for a physician when they are sick, because all such use of means implies distrust of the Divine care. But let us rejoice that light is breaking in over the old boundaries of hereditary ignorance, and that the masses are coming to think with Fontaine,—*"Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera,"*—*Help yourself, and God will help you.* We like Dr. Chalmers's maxim,—*"Man should trust in God as if God did all, and labor himself as if man did all."*

We must accord our unqualified approbation to recent legislative acts on this great subject, believing them to be the commencement of a new and glorious work. Massachusetts takes the lead in this enterprise, and she has struck properly the grand key-note. If the plan be prosecuted with intelligence and zeal, it will mark a memorable red-letter day in the history of the Commonwealth.

The establishment of a central board of health for the State, and a local board for each city and town, would bring to light, not only the causes of disease and the means of prevention, but would also help to extend life to its natural period by removing the influences which artificially curtail it. That the requisite knowledge for these merciful results can be attained by all, there is no doubt. The following question was proposed to several distinguished physicians:—

“ ‘How great a proportion of disease, of suffering, of diminution of physical capacity, of usefulness, and of abridgment of life, comes from sheer ignorance, and which, therefore, we might hope to see averted, if the community had that degree of knowledge which is easily attainable by all?’ ”

“ To this question Dr. James Jackson, of Boston, replies, — ‘I feel assured that the answer should be, *More than one half*. When it is brought to mind that the ignorance of parents is included in the terms of the inquiry, the justice of the answer will probably be admitted by all who are conversant with the subject.’ ”

“ Dr. S. B. Woodward, late superintendent of the State Lunatic Hospital, says, — ‘I have no doubt that *half* of the evils of life, and *half* the deaths that occur among mankind, arise from ignorance of the laws of health and life; and that a thorough knowledge of these laws would diminish the sufferings incident to our present state of being in very nearly the same proportion.’ ”

“ Dr. Edward Jarvis replies, — ‘From an observation of thirteen years, I have been led to believe that *three fourths, perhaps more*, of the ailments of men come from a want of sufficient knowledge of their frame, or a disregard for it.’ ” — p. 251.

What positive and increasing utility must result from the system proposed! How would it spread before the people and the Legislature the facts on which sanitary laws should be based! How would it be as a physician in every family, devising, not remedies, but preventives! And would not economy be another consequence of the measure? Sickiness and debility, widowhood and orphanage, are expensive. How often are they connected with pauperism! Lord Ashley, the best judge in England of this matter, said, in a recent speech at London,—

“ At least one third of the pauperism of the country arose from the defective sanitary condition of large multitudes of the people; and he had no hesitation in saying, upon the authority of experienced persons, that, if the population of their great towns were placed under proper sanitary regulations, in less than ten years the poor rates would be reduced £2,000,000 annually.” — pp. 255, 256.

Similar statements might be made of the United States; for we are sure that the bringing of the facts of a sanitary survey of the State before the people would be an all-important preliminary to their better health, more efficient labor, and social happiness. If Massachusetts appropriates \$850,000 annually for the education of chil-

dren's *minds*, would it not be wise to make some provision for the normal vigor of the *bodies* in which these minds are to labor? If the body be the house the mind lives in, would it not be wise to keep it in such good order that it would not need repairs until the tenant was ready to move out?

We maintain that the plan proposed by the Commission is a *moral* one.

“‘There is a most fatal and certain connection,’ says the Edinburgh Review, ‘between physical uncleanness and moral pollution. The condition of a population becomes invariably assimilated to that of their habitations. There can be no sight more painful than that of a healthy, rosy, active countrywoman brought to one of these dwellings. For a time there is a desperate exertion to keep the place clean; several times in the forenoon is the pavement in the front of the house washed, but as often does the oozing filth creep along the stones, and she feels, at length, that her labor is in vain. The noxious exhalations infuse their poison into her system, and her energies droop. Then she becomes sick. Cleanliness becoming impossible, she gets accustomed to its absence, and gradually sinks into the ways of her neighbors. The art of concealing dirt is substituted for the habit of cleanliness; she becomes a dirty, debilitated slattern, followed by sickly, scrofulous, feverish children; and she falls through successive stages of degradation, till, physical wretchedness having done its worst, she reaches the lowest of all, that in which she has ceased to complain. The fate of the children is, if possible, more heart-breaking. All idea of sobriety, all notion of self-respect, all sense of modesty, all instinct of decency, is nipped in the bud; they congregate in masses, and mix with the worst vagrants. At last some dreadful fever forces on the notice of the public the existence of their squalid dens of misery; such as those in the Saffron Hill district, — where twenty-five people were found living in a room sixteen feet square, — where a man and his wife and four children, occupying one room, took in seven lodgers, — and where one house contained a hundred and twenty-six people, and only six or seven beds. These people save nothing, but invariably spend all they earn in drink; and with that precocious depravity too surely evinced by human beings when herded together like beasts, the young of both sexes live together from the ages of twelve and thirteen years.’” — pp. 266, 267.

Who would not do something to save the rising generations in our republic? Nothing can be truer than the remark, that “you cannot degrade the physical man by

a life-long familiarity with scenes of filth and indecency, without debasing his whole moral nature." Let us put an end to this moral pestilence, and bid the destroying angel stay his hand. Let jails and sheriffs give place to churches and Sunday-school teachers, and the Sabbath become a festival of plenty and peace.

Mr. Chambers recently said, —

"Of all the great undertakings by which the era is signalized, there is perhaps none which so clearly stamps a character of real and essential progress as the Sanitary Movement; for the result of this, mediate and immediate, is a positive, a cumulative good; a social, moral, and intellectual amelioration of a most beneficial nature, — one which we believe is destined to effect great results in the material advancement of a people. Its ultimate effect, whether so intended or not, lies beyond the pecuniary advantage, — the dollars and cents; it recognizes the existence of claims and sympathies, — intimate relations between all phases and grades of society." — p. 276.

If the Divine Lawgiver thought fit to proclaim sanitary laws, by his servant Moses, to his chosen people, can human governments do better than to follow his example, and, by laws fitted to our age and condition, develop human energies, prevent human suffering, and secure human improvement? In regard to the whole range of the laws of health and life, Providence seems to treat mere ignorance as an offence, and to punish it accordingly.

Now, with an annual report before us, we say emphatically, that the main conditions which constitute the unhealthiness of towns are definite, palpable, removable evils. We aver, that the dense over-crowding of a population, the intricate ramification of courts and alleys, excluding light and air, the defective drainage, the products of organic decomposition, the contaminated water, and the more contaminated atmosphere, are distinct causes of disease and death. We further affirm, that each of these destructive agencies admits of being definitely estimated in its numerical proportion to the total mortality which it contributes to cause, and that each is susceptible of abatement or removal, which will at once be followed by diminution of its alleged effects on the health of our American population.

In view of the whole subject, we invite every sober

mind and every feeling heart to examine the laws of physical growth and normal life. How much may depend upon our knowing the hygienic resources and influences of the region wherein our lot is cast, ascertaining the amount of vitality and usable force within our reach, and learning the cause of differences in different localities! It is possible for us to determine these questions as they relate to country and sea-coast, to mountains and valleys, to dry places and wet, to cities and forests, to high houses and low, to crowded population and sparse; and, moreover, to varying human pursuits, whether they be those of the sailor or soldier, the merchant or mechanic, the farmer or physician, the queen or her laundry-woman. The facts concerning all these great interests of health and longevity, disease and death, can be ascertained almost with mathematical accuracy. There are certain immutable laws, and there can be no accident in their results. Cause and effect are the same here as in sowing and reaping. "There is no more caprice or mystery in the flow and ebb of life, in the maintenance of health, in the cause of sickness or in the event of death, than there is in the flow and the ebb of the tides, in the movements of the stars, or in the action of gravitation." (p. 354.)

It being proved, then, that just so far as normal vitalizing forces act on man, so far his health, strength, and longevity will be promoted, and that just so far as destructive forces act on him, so far debility, sickness, and death ensue, what should these two following facts teach us? The number of deaths in Massachusetts, from consumption, during 1845, 1846, 1847, and 1848, was 57 per cent. greater among females than among males! In New York, during 1847 and 1848, it was 37 per cent.! Is it not worth while to inquire into the causes of such disparities, and to ascertain how human life may be saved? A sanitary survey would embrace every feature of deterioration arising from age, sex, condition, pursuit, locality, or circumstance. The most enlightened governments of Europe are prosecuting the subject with true science and Christian policy. We have an American motive for doing it; that we may prevent the spread of those hereditary diseases, which are now cursing some parts of Southern Europe with a race of dwarfs and fools.

Less than we have said would be enough to show how this whole subject appeals to physicians. We see the entire medical profession earnestly engaged in conflict with physical ills. They know how often men dig their graves with their teeth; they often see verified the Spanish maxim, "A rich mouthful and a heavy groan"; and they can tell when the best physicians are Dr. Diet, Dr. Quiet, and Dr. Merryman. If they, who are so well acquainted with the science of cure, would give themselves heartily to the science of prevention, they would lay the community under boundless obligations to them.

It appeals to Christian ministers. How often does the minister, in his visits to the sick, discover the causes of an illness which might have been prevented; and, if he be a well-instructed physiologist, how often can he impart the knowledge which would give an entirely new direction to the habits of a family.

It appeals to the educated. They, of either sex, who make a study of sanitary science, may do, by their pens or eloquence, a good to society in general, and to the poor in particular, which numbers cannot compute. Lord Morpeth said in his address, — "No one's conscience, be they ministers of state, be they members of Parliament, be they members of corporations, or be they citizens of any class, ought to hold themselves harmless, if in time coming they offer any obstruction, or suffer any obstruction to be offered, to the immediate adoption of sanitary reform."*

It appeals to the wealthy and philanthropic. In few ways could the rich and compassionate bestow their money or service to more permanent benefit, than by devising and establishing those sanitary agencies which prevent disease and suffering, pauperism and crime.

It appeals to the people. It addresses each person in the community, and bears equally upon individual and collective interests. It seeks no subversion of any social, political, or religious institutions, nor the abrogation of any constitutional statute; but it does come with its advice and caution to every human being, wishing to make every one more healthy, more useful, and more happy.

It appeals to towns. The great efficacy of health

* *Journal of Public Health*, Vol. I. p. 23.

regulations must depend on municipal authorities. If the local boards do their duty, the reform is safe; if they refuse, it must stop.

"Cholera, typhus, consumption, and other diseases, are health inspectors, that speak in language which none can misunderstand; they visit persons on polluted rivers, the neglected lunatic in his cell, the crowded workshop, the establishments for pauper children, the sides of stagnant sewers, the undrained city, the uncleaned street, the cellar and the attic, as well as the fair open quarters which strangers frequent and admire. The oversights, the errors, the crimes of persons who in responsible offices have charge of the health and life of men, are proclaimed aloud by their inexorable voices." — pp. 303, 304.

It appeals to the State. If every inhabitant be entitled to protection in life and property, may not health be included in the purposes of legislation? A state is bound to develop all its resources, and should not mind and muscles be the first in the series of agencies? What greater wisdom can a state show, than to cherish and protect the forces of human life, *on which all other prosperity depends*? If Massachusetts can give her money to help found an asylum for the deaf and dumb in a neighboring State, and if within her own borders she opens one retreat for the insane, and another for the blind, and then establishes the first State Reform School; if she dots her whole territory with school-houses which stand "like sparkling diamonds in the sky" to give light and hope to every child; and if she spends \$ 830,577 next year, as she did last, to support her schools, may she not awake to the great interests of health, strength, and longevity, of sickness, poverty, and death, among her citizens? She has been called "the moral Commonwealth," "the enlightened State," and will she not take the lead in an efficient and comprehensive plan of sanitary reform?

There are several grave questions which want of space compels us to pass over, but we cannot omit saying a word about houses occupied by the poor. They who have devoted time and intelligence to the examination of this subject have satisfactorily shown, that not only common policy, but humanity and religion, demand that the poor should be protected against the pestiferous filth, the corrupting associations and loathsome habits, which

their wretched tenements inevitably produce. Dr. Jarvis says, —

“There is a very common notion, that the privation and discomforts of poverty are at least compensated by health. The robust strength of the laborer is often referred to as an example of this compensation. The children, especially of the poor, who are often neglected and uncleanly, in want of proper clothing, and exposed to the severity of the elements, are quoted as proofs of the uselessness of attending to many of the rules of health. But all inquiry into the condition and health of the poor shows the fallacy of these opinions, and the evil consequences of following them.” — p. 357.

Bath-houses should be erected for the gratuitous use of all who cannot elsewhere find the proper supply of water. Happy are they who can bathe daily; but we can hardly think of that person as a Christian, who does not bring his whole person into contact with water at least once every week. Statistics from every quarter of the globe prove, that frequent bathing in pure water prevents sickness; and in doing this it prevents suffering and poverty. If this be so, are we not morally bound to furnish these defences to those who cannot afford to purchase them? It was an old Roman maxim, “The morning to the mountain, the evening to the fountain.”

And as to the health of school-children, we would suggest to those who live in cities and crowded towns the purchase of a farm where boys from six to sixteen years can go each year, during three or four months, to perform agricultural labor and enjoy rural sports. Such an establishment, under stringent, parental regulation, would do more for the health, energy, and improvement of feeble children, than all the powers of common therapeutics.

We would commend this “Report,” and especially the subject of sanitary science, to every person who wishes to make the most of himself while he lives in this world; and when we consider the hereditary transmission of disease, the subject assumes a moral and religious aspect at once momentous and prophetic.

C. B.

ART. III.—"HE DESCENDED INTO HELL."

THIS is the beginning of the fifth article of what is called the Apostles' Creed. The Creed, though quite ancient, has no manner of title to the name it bears. The parts of which it is composed were brought together from uncertain hands, and at long intervals of time. It did not take its present shape till the Christian Church had long been immersed in those corrupt and deplorable days which followed its political ascendancy under Constantine, and its distracted dogmatism after the Council of Nice. Its profession of belief in the "communion of saints" was not introduced till after that communion had become very much like a chaos of disputes, and many an abominable transaction had so stained the pages of ecclesiastical history, as to lead us to think that there could be few real saints left. That article was, in fact, brought in, like several of the rest, to meet a controversial exigency. It was occasioned by the schism of the Donatists; a poor faction of ecclesiastics in Africa, who did not disagree with their Christian brethren in any point of doctrine, but, from a cause as local as their climate, fell out with all the rest, set up to be the only true Church, and were fain to excommunicate every thing that lay on the other side of the Mediterranean Sea. It meant well, then, and may be construed into something really excellent. The article also that precedes it, but which is the last of all in some ancient creeds,—Cyprian's, for example,—owes its phraseology to a similar cause. Dissension led to the profession, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." The word "Catholic" was not at first there. No reason existed why it should be there. It was suggested by after discords. The Greeks were the first to insert it, and it was received from them and adopted by the Latins. It is a good word; of the most comprehensive breadth, and full of charity. It signifies universal. It opposes every idea of what is exclusive. To our Protestant ears it may convey the thought of the most monstrous of spiritual usurpations, the Papal. Most unjustly; unless we connect it with the word "Roman." But the very phrase "Roman Catholic" is a solecism in language. It expresses

things so contradictory that they cannot stand together. One of the terms is local, the name of a place. The other nobly disregards all bounds of domain and peculiarities of opinion. Catholic, or "general," is the title given to the Epistles of Peter and John, James and Jude, because they were not directed, like those of Paul, to Rome, or Corinth, or Thessalonica, or any other special communion, but to the believers who were scattered over the whole earth, wheresoever and whomsoever. The article, therefore, is to be applauded, though the necessity that called for it was a reproach. The Church had fallen upon evil times; more evil than any before, inasmuch as corruption was worse than distress. Even the grand words "and the life everlasting," with which the Creed, as we now have it, so fitly closes, did not obtain general admission till the new hierarchy seemed wellnigh given over to the ambitious schemes of this world and the worst human passions.

As soon, however, as the Creed became fixed in its form, it was universally held in the highest estimation, which it has retained down to the present day. And it deserves the distinguished favor that it has acquired. For, though far enough from being traceable to the Apostles, it is the shortest, simplest, and most comprehensive confession of faith known to the churches. It is beautiful for its compactness; beautiful for that degree of antiquity and sacred usage which throw the charm of their associations around it; beautiful for its freedom from abstruse theology; beautiful for the solemn flow of its Scripture-like language. It has entered into the liturgies of the East and the West. Wherever a creed is publicly recited, this is it, or by the side of it. It appears the more excellent from its contrast to the Athanasian, or even the Nicene Creed. The latter of these, the Nicene, with its controversial metaphysics, is sometimes read in the services of the Episcopal Church of the United States. The former, the Athanasian, still disgraces the English Book of Common Prayer, and is required to be occasionally repeated by the minister and congregation. We may be allowed to doubt whether it most affronts human reason by its wordy absurdities, or insults humanity itself by the denunciation with which it opens and ends and is interspersed, — "which faith except every

one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly."

Thus much we have been moved to say in praise of the Apostles' Creed, though it comes to us with a pretension that it cannot justify, though its "communion of saints" is no very distinct article of belief, and "the resurrection of the body" must be construed with the largest allowance before it can command the universal assent of the Christian world. But we had not proposed to dwell much on the history or general character of this celebrated confession. Our attention will be occupied at present only with that particular clause of it which we quoted at the outset. "He descended into hell." This is a remarkable one on several accounts. From its ambiguity, it has given occasion to many discussions, especially in the early times, when men's minds kindled more easily at theological phrases than they now do. It carries a strange, mysterious sound with it, that arrests the thought, if it does not shock the feeling, of readers at the present day. The Church itself has become a little shy of it, as is manifest from the permission allowed the officiating minister either to repeat or to omit it in the public service, or to say instead of it, "He went into the place of departed spirits." This permission is, indeed, confined to the Episcopal Church in our own country; but still it is a significant circumstance. It is a solitary instance, we believe, of any liberty taken with the rubric, in a communion that is peculiarly, and perhaps wisely, jealous of the slightest innovations. For these reasons, we have thought that an unpretending dissertation on the subject, free from all learned tediousness or perplexing subtilties, might gratify a reasonable curiosity, and lead to some suggestions both interesting and profitable.

The passage in question does not appear to have found its way into any Catholic creed till late in the fourth century after the birth of the Saviour. Rufinus, who wrote at that period, tells us, in his Exposition of the Symbol, that it had not been added before his time either to the Roman or the Oriental creeds. The occasion of its being then introduced was a polemical one. It was levelled against the doctrine of Apollinarius, a famous bishop of Laodicea, who maintained that Christ

had no proper human soul, but that the place of this was supplied by the Logos or Divine Word. This defection from what was set up as the standard of the true faith, especially when recommended by so eminent a prelate and so popular a writer, gave a shock to the feelings of his contemporaries; and they introduced the article we are speaking of, as a protest and protection against what appeared to them a grievous error. It was certainly an effective method. For none but a human spirit could be supposed to enter into the gathering-place of departed souls; and Christ was thus shown to be a real man, not only in the body that was buried, but in the rational portion of his being. Such, at least, is the account that has been handed down to us as most probable of the circumstances which brought the clause into the Apostles' Creed. Apollinarius — or Apollinaris, as the Latin fathers uniformly name him — was both theologian and poet. He deserved well of the Church, as one of its ablest champions and most beloved servants. He composed learned books, which Jerome pronounces to be innumerable, and sacred verses, that were in the mouths of the commonest people. But by attempting to be particularly orthodox, he fell under the reproach of heresy, amidst a conflict of metaphysical disputes, where the most favorite dogmas contradicted themselves, and where a man could scarcely define one point of the received faith without finding himself in direct collision with other points. Hence it happened that all his works came to perish, excepting a Paraphrase of the Psalms, unless we account as his a tragedy found in the works of Gregory Nazianzen, and called “Christ Suffering,” which has been ascribed to him on we know not what authority. The world may be well enough rid of his controversial writings. There are too many of such already, — a rubbish-heap from the contributions of all ages. But we cannot help regretting the loss of those psalms and hymns, which were sung not only in the public assemblies, but by poor men and women at their occupations, — in the workshops and over the distaff.

“He descended into hell.” The general meaning of this phrase is not very obscure. Few persons need to be told that the word *hell*, though now used only as designating the abode of the wicked after death, or of the

condemned after the judgment, was originally of a much more comprehensive application. At the time the first English versions of the Bible were made, it corresponded with the Greek Hades, or the Hebrew Scheol, and meant the receptacle of our conscious being after this life has been passed through. Thus, in the old version of the Psalms, which is still retained in the Book of Common Prayer, we read (Ps. lxxxix. 48), "What man is he that liveth, and shall not see death? Shall he deliver his soul from the hand of hell?" Dr. Towerson, in his Commentary on the Creed, mentions a Saxon discourse, "written above seven hundred years ago," which said of Adam, that after he had lived nine hundred years he went with sorrow into hell, which could not have denoted a place of punishment, for all agreed in the salvation of the first man. King James's translators sometimes employ it in that sense, though more frequently in its restricted signification of a place of punishment. When Jonah says that he cried to the Lord "out of the belly of hell," and when the Psalmist says, "If I make my bed in hell, behold! Thou—" we can understand the term only in its widest acceptance, the under-world. According to the imagery in our Lord's parable of the rich man and Lazarus, it is plain that they went to the same Hades, though one was in torment and the other in bliss. The domain lay in two parts, with an impassable gulf between them. So in the Grecian mythology. Elysium was as much of a descent as Tartarus. They were in the same plane. In other instances, however, the word does not seem to have any reference to the condition of souls at all, but is simply equivalent to the grave, or to the state of the dead, whatever that state may be. When Jacob spoke of his gray hairs as brought with sorrow to the grave, and when the conspirators against Moses "went down alive into the pit," the same Hebrew word is employed in both cases, and means only the extinction of life. This last understanding of the word, as applicable to the passage under our survey, has found favor among distinguished writers in the Anglican Church; though it lies under the strong objection of being then but an inflated repetition of what immediately precedes, "was dead and buried." We cannot think that the same thing would be said directly over again in another

mode of expression; especially when we consider the brevity and condensed style of the whole formula. And yet Dr. Barrow takes this ground in his Exposition of the Creed; adding, however, that “if we interpret our Saviour’s *descent into hell* for his soul’s going into the common receptacle and mansion of souls, we shall be sure not substantially to mistake.” Archbishop Leighton, in a sermon on the same subject, tells us, in his quaint way, — “The more noise hath been about this clause, I shall make the less. . . . I conceive, with submission, that it differs not much (possibly nothing) from the plain word of his *burial*.” On the contrary, Sir Peter King, in his learned History of the Apostles’ Creed, maintains the position, and we think with better success, that the realm of departed spirits is here alluded to, into which Christ descended. “As the disposal of his dead body,” he reasons, “had been before declared in the term *buried*, so now there follows something in the Creed respecting solitarily and peculiarly his soul.” With this opinion of the English chancellor, that of Bishop Pearson, who wrote at much length an Exposition of the same Creed, entirely agrees.

Thus far, then, we meet with no considerable perplexity. For we all admit, that the article means either no more than this, that the Saviour submitted to the common lot of mortality; or else no more than that, that his spirit went after death where other human spirits go. There is nothing in either of these assertions to trouble us. The difference between them is not so great as to be startling. But now there arise questions of a more bewildering sort. What purpose is implied in that descent? What objects were accomplished by it? What was Christ supposed to have done in that lower realm? Is there any foundation in the Scriptures for that article in the Creed? and if so, what is it? Here, if we were to enter at large into the matter, — which all common sense forefend! — we should find ourselves involved in abundant intricacies. Ambrose and Jerome express the idea, which they had derived from an earlier father, that before the death of the Redeemer all souls were obliged, on leaving the body, to go down into the under-world, — where, indeed, they were quite happy if they had been good; but that after he had descended into it, the righteous

were permitted to rise immediately into the full joy of heaven. Death and Hades, says Epiphanius, struggled to overpower and retain his spirit, not knowing the divinity that dwelt in it; but he rent asunder those adamantine bars, and by his own power loosed the bonds of Hades, bringing thence with him captive souls, as a pledge of future liberty to the rest. In the same strain wrote many others. Some of them even speak of a battle of three days waged with the angels of darkness, which were at length completely overthrown. According to this representation, Christ appears in the character of a hero and conqueror, prevailing against all the hosts of the "infernal seats," with him at their head who "had the power of death, that is, the Devil." All this sounds, to be sure, more like poetry than theology. But better so than worse. Poetry let it be. It is the inspiration of comfort, and hope, and good courage; and that is infinitely preferable to the dogmas of dismay, gloomy and full of threats, that have usually been uppermost in theological dictation. One of the noble hymns of Watts glows with the conception that has just been expressed:—

"Laden with spoils from earth and hell,
The Conqueror comes with God to dwell."

It may be more like a rapture than like a lesson. But if we view it only as the figurative representation of moral truths, they must be cold indeed who cannot kindle with it. The imagination requires to be addressed as well as the other faculties of the mind. Historic facts are not the only realities there are. That may be true enough for a psalm which is not true enough for a catechism.

Another view was taken by some of the ancient writers as to what was transacted during the interval between the crucifixion and the resurrection of our Lord, presenting him to us under another and very different figure. It was a common opinion of the fathers, that the preaching of his Gospel to all who had died was the object of his descent, and the means by which the efficacy of his death was imparted to the souls below. The image here brought before us is that of a preacher, and not of a champion. Irenæus says, that therefore the Lord descended into the subterranean realms, preaching

even to them his advent for the remission of sins to those who believe in him. Clement of Alexandria insists on the same point. This preaching was of three days' duration, according to Cyril; who adds, that here was the fullest manifestation of his love for mankind, in saving not only such as were yet alive upon the earth, but in preaching forgiveness to those already departed, who sat in the recesses of the abyss. There is a line of the pretended sibyl, that sounds in the same tone:—

"Proclaiming hope to all, he will come into Hades;
Fulfil the doom of death till the sleep of the third day,
And then ascend into light, taking leave of the spirits departed."

Orac. Sib., Lib. 8.

The two ideas now mentioned, if carried out and enlarged into their full dimensions, would exhaust the subject of the supposed scope of Christ's agency in "descending into hell";—unless we are disposed to join to these such moral ends as all can understand and feel, being rather matters of sentiment than of doctrine. Christ thus manifests the humility of his obedience and the encouragement of his example by leading the way for us wherever the poor human soul must travel. He sanctifies for us the unseen state of separation, and brightens its gloom, and appeases its terror. He exhibits to us, in a similitude at least, that the under-world—whatever that may be, and without attempting to define the shapeless—has been traversed by blessed feet, and has echoed to a heavenly voice, and lies subdued before the strength of the simplest believing heart.

We are ready now for the answer to the last question that was just proposed. On what Scriptural grounds does the article in the Creed rest? or does it profess to have any? We certainly cannot suppose that its framers, who are for the most part so Biblical in their expressions, considered it wholly destitute of such an essential support. There are, in fact, two passages in the Bible, which have been mainly appealed to, on this subject, from the beginning. The first is that celebrated verse of the 16th Psalm, which St. Peter quoted as prophetic to his hearers on the day of Pentecost:—"Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption." According to the Apostle, "David spake of the resurrection of Christ,

that his soul was not left in hell." But if it was not left there, it must have previously been there. The inference is irresistible, and the Creed is so far justified. This is the text that has been the most frequently introduced and the most confidently relied on. We are willing to regard it as the principal authority for the insertion of the article we are speaking of in the place it holds. It carries with it the idea of triumph and exultation; in David's case, lifting him above every foe and every calamity, and in the case to which the Apostle Peter applies it, giving Christ the victory over the grave, "having loosed the pains (fetters) of death, because it was not possible that he should be holden of it." Herein there is a correspondence with the former of the two figures, under which the ancient fathers conceived of the agency of Christ while his body was lying in Joseph's tomb, — that of a conqueror. We think that we need not enlarge any further on this department of our subject, and shall offer no useless apology for being short. We are convinced that conciseness is distinctness in treating matters of this kind.

But there is another text that has been much quoted in connection with this theme, and was mingled with it from the very beginning. It is of so curious an interest and of so doubtful an application, that we must be allowed to dwell upon it at some length. We find it in 1 Peter iii. 19, 20. "By which also," that is, by the Spirit, "he went and preached unto the spirits in prison; which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing." This was early applied to the explanation of the article, "He descended into hell"; and probably had no little share in establishing it where it stands. Here the other figure comes into action; and Christ is no longer like a warrior, subduing by force, but a preacher, prevailing by his word. The passage has been almost universally assumed to describe "the descent," both by ancient and modern writers. Who should "the spirits in prison" be, but those who had gone from this responsible life to dwell in the conscious empire of ghosts? And is it not plainly said, that "he went and preached" to them? So it appeared to them; and we need not enter into any further quotations from

the sainted names of the early ages of the Church in order to establish the fact so far as they are concerned. We will come down to our own age, and even here make but a single reference. Dr. Pott, who undertook the Catholic Epistles in the Koppian edition of the New Testament, "illustrated with a continuous annotation," entertains the same view. In a long "Excursus," set forth with numerous citations from the Greek and Latin classics, he speaks of the descent of Jesus to the shades; as if that was certainly the subject of St. Peter's language. He describes it, indeed, only as one of the myths of sacred story. His only very marked peculiarity is, that, with the slight argument and bold assertion that are not uncommon to his class, he assigns as the reason why the Saviour appeared as a preacher to the inhabitants of the lower regions, the propriety of keeping up the character which he had sustained and the office that had employed him while he was on earth. This was according to the analogy of ancient opinion, he says. Thus Minos, according to Homer, continues to judge below, as he had done in the upper air. "In like manner, the shades of Agamemnon, Achilles, Hercules, and other heroes, talk with Ulysses and Æneas about their exploits on earth. So Tiresias, according to Horace, goes on to exercise his prophetic gift in the other world, and Orion follows the chase still." We might repeat much more of the same kind, and of still less dignity, but will spare ourselves and our readers. We ought, however, in justice to the learned professor, to quote another of his examples, which is more becoming, if not more apposite, than the rest. The prophet Isaiah, in predicting the downfall of the king of Babylon, describes all the kings of the nations as rising from their infernal thrones to meet him at his coming. They sat as kings, even there.

But there are grave difficulties in the way of supposing that St. Peter here makes any allusion to an imagined visitation of the lower world by Christ after his passion. They are difficulties that in our judgment are insuperable. A reviewer of Dr. Pott's work in Eichhorn's *Bibliothek* (Vol. III. p. 529) glances slightly at two of these objections. In the first place, it is evident to every attentive reader of the Apostle's words in the pas-

sage adduced, that "the Spirit" spoken of is not the soul of Christ at all, but the Spirit of God which instructed, animated, and empowered him; and which, though poured upon him in a special manner and without measure, had been always manifesting itself to the world. And then, why should the people who had lived in Noah's time be singled out as the only subjects to whom the preaching was addressed? Or granting that they are only brought forward as representing the whole of an unbelieving world, which is rather a forced construction, why should the great privilege of the revealing and saving word be confined to the "disobedient," and not extended to the worthier part of the buried world that had long before gone down into silence? The reviewer in Eichhorn's *Bibliothek* adopts a mode of interpretation which deserves on several accounts to be briefly set forth. It is not an uncommon one; it has some appearances strongly in its favor; it is learned without being too far-fetched; and it may be looked upon as the first departure from the more literal and vulgar understanding of the passage in Peter's Epistle. According to this explanation, "the spirits in prison" are really those who had been "disobedient in the days of Noah." The Spirit in Christ really did preach to them; only this preaching was done while they were yet in the flesh, and not after the flood had covered them for thousands of years, and consigned them to their dark "prison." It gave warning and instruction even so far back as the antediluvian days, when "the ark was a preparing," and Noah—who was not without the same "Spirit"—was "a preacher of righteousness." This notion may seem strange at first, but soon becomes clear. It is perfectly Scriptural. It puts no forced meaning upon language. It gives a natural sense, and a reasonable sense. It need not appear repulsive to us, that Christ should be described as having spoken to those former generations. The New Testament, in several instances, asserts of its Messiah what is related in the Old Testament of the Spirit of the Lord, and of his anointed servants of old. Thus Paul exhorts the Corinthians not to "tempt Christ as some of them in the wilderness tempted him." Peter in this very Epistle (i. 11) speaks of "the Spirit of Christ" as having been in the prophets. He is supposed

to allude, in the passage under review, to Genesis vi. 3: — "And the Lord said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man," that is, for his reformation; "his days shall yet be a hundred and twenty years." The import of which is conjectured to be, that the means of amendment vouchsafed to those ancient offenders through the instructions of the early patriarchs should not be continued further; but that after a hundred and twenty years, if they failed to repent, the watery ruin should sweep them away. Such was "the long-suffering of God, that waited in the days of Noah."

We might be inclined at first to rest in this explanation as quite satisfactory. But there is another mode of construing the Apostle's words, that attracts us more strongly. It sets them in a wholly different light, and has the advantage of greater simplicity and a more practical bearing, while it is equally justified by a sober criticism. To make this the better understood, we shall begin with offering a different translation of the passage: "having been put to death in the flesh, but restored to life by the Spirit; by which, after his departure, he preached to imprisoned souls, which" (i. e. the like of which, or such as) "had aforetime disbelieved when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah." The departure spoken of is his ascension into heaven; and not his descent among the dead, nor his imaginary mission to those who for centuries had now been joined to that unseen company. The Spirit was that which he communicated to his disciples after he had left them, and by which they were inaugurated to preach the Gospel of redemption to all them that were bound. The hearers of this preached testimony were not the very persons of Noah's day;—how could that be?—but persons in a like situation with them; in thralldom to wickedness and misery, and shut up unto death. Such were the heathen nations when Christ appeared. This view of the subject, instead of looking back to the cloudy ages of the past, looks forward to the coming time. Not only is there no trace of the under-world before its contemplation, but no question about ancient destinies. Instead of "spirits in prison," who had passed to their account before the world had any exact history, or any history at all, it turns its thought towards the ages of

living men, captives of sin and fear, who were to inherit the earth under the dispensation of the Christian faith. Gilbert Wakefield's version corresponds to the one we have given in a principal respect: "he went and preached to the minds *of men* in prison; who were *also* hard to be convinced in former times; *as* when the patience," &c. If we should be asked why any mention should be made of these antediluvian culprits, we might reply, that it was a favorite habit of the Apostolic writers to make allusion to the great points of Hebrew tradition; and that the context, with its word about baptism, shows the peculiar propriety of following it in the present instance. We might add to these considerations, that perhaps the Apostle introduced this reference to indicate the superior effects of the preaching of the Saviour above those that the patriarchs produced by their admonitions. These last were of no avail. The spirit that then spoke and wrought did not redeem. Noah gave warning, but it was not credited. The ark that was preparing was the greatest warning of all. As an old writer expresses it, it "spoke God's mind; and every knock of the hammers preached unto them." But they disregarded it. The floods were making ready to join their voice also, and would soon make the globe rounder than it was before, under their smooth surface of destruction; but no signs of repentance were seen. How different was the result here! The promise of mercy availed more than the threat of ruin had done. How striking was the contrast to the provoked judgment of that early day, under the descent of the Holy Spirit, with the "sound as of a rushing, mighty wind," but with none of the devastations of a storm, and with its shapes of harmless fire! Then was the world converted, and not drowned. Then did the gentle drops of a saving baptism take the place of that sea of death. Then did the ark of safety, that held but eight human beings, appear a small thing compared with the Church that opened its courts of a boundless salvation, to contain "ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands."

The first writer, so far as we know, who entertained any thing like such an opinion of St. Peter's meaning, was no less a person than Augustin himself. He was full in the faith of the descent into hell, which he de-

clared that none but an infidel could deny ; but he could not find any hint of it here. He denied that the doctrine rested on any thing here said. He plainly asserted that the passage had nothing at all to do with the infernal regions. He felt his mind pressed by the same difficulties that we have mentioned. These he states at some length in a remarkable letter written to his friend Evodius, in answer to some questions proposed by him on the subject. It is the ninety-ninth letter of his correspondence. On the supposition that the advent of Christ into Hades is here described, Why, he asks, should he have singled out those incorrigible transgressors, and them only, as the subjects of his teaching, passing by such an innumerable multitude of others ? Why did he not speak to the orators and poets of antiquity, whom we so much admire ? Or if he did, why did the Apostle wholly omit them ? Besides, people die still, never having heard of the Gospel ; — who shall go and preach it to *them* ? The “spirits in prison,” he says, may well enough mean human minds closed in by the shades of ignorance, as if between prison-walls. Not in the infernal regions, but here, they are liberated. He even asserts, that “this transaction relates to persons who should arise hereafter ; as they who do not believe the Gospel now are like those who did not believe then, while the ark was preparing.” Augustin was evidently perplexed about the matter, and had not wholly made up his judgment concerning it. In one part of the letter he intimates, that “before Christ came in the flesh, he had often come in the Spirit” ; and this leads us to suppose that he was inclined to favor the interpretation which we have cited as that of the reviewer in Eichhorn. We do not wonder at his perplexity. We wonder rather at the acute spirit of his remarks.

The view to which we have given our preference was unfolded, for the first time within our knowledge, by an illustrious man, who lived between two and three hundred years ago, and was a chief light of his times. Engaged in poetry, history, theology, and public affairs, he was the most distinguished scholar and civilian and statesman that Holland has ever produced ; and one who should be dear to the lovers of letters, religion, and liberty, everywhere. While he defended the freedom of the

seas against the pretensions of England, and the rights of the mind against island and continent, and laid down the principles of law for war and peace, he wrote liberal commentaries on all the Scriptures, and one of the best books that had been written on the evidences of Christianity. His country, under the influence of political prejudices and religious bigotry, sentenced him to perpetual imprisonment, from which he escaped only by the loving ingenuity of his wife; and it afterwards banished him for ever from its shores. But the name of its great citizen will be remembered after its dikes give way, and the sea that once broke in upon Dort shall cover the whole land. Thus much we have felt compelled to say of Hugo Grotius. His opinion on the subject before us was adopted in its whole extent by Archbishop Leighton in a note to his "Commentary upon the First Epistle of Peter"; though he had at first written in favor of the preceding theory of St. Augustin, which was certainly a very plausible one. "They that dream of the descent of Christ's soul into hell," says the good prelate, a little scornfully, "think this place somewhat that way; but it cannot, by the strongest wresting, be drawn to fit their purpose." We have only one remark further to make on this point. In King Edward the Sixth's time, the first clause of the fifth article of the Creed was expounded authoritatively by the passage in Peter. But at a synod held ten years afterwards, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the descent into hell was barely mentioned, without any explication as to the manner or grounds of it.

We arrive at the conclusion, as the sum of what has been said, that the confession of the Apostles' Creed, "He descended into hell," can mean nothing more than either that Christ lay in the grave, or that his departed soul went to the place of other souls departed. It came late into the Creed, and has not the least authority. So far as it is supposed to rest upon the passage in the Psalm of David, it leans upon a mere shadow of Scripture sanction. So far as it appeals to the passage in Peter, it sets up a false claim. Our task is thus ended. But we cannot leave so singular a portion of the New Testament as the last named, so much contended about, so fertile of reflections, and one that has occupied us so

long, without asking pardon of our readers for taking up the office of preacher ourselves for a moment, and moralizing our dissertation. The idea of "spirits in prison" has been brought before us. And these, as we have been led to understand, are no shades of departed men, but souls like our own, in bodies like our own. We are, all of us, spirits inclosed in flesh. We are girt in by narrow limits both of the senses and the understanding. We touch but what is near to us. We hear but for a few furlongs. We see but for a few miles. Our reasonings, as well as our perceptions, move in a straitened round. We are imprisoned within the decrees of nature and fortune, even when we are most faithful to God. And if we are unfaithful, if we are brought into captivity by vicious inclinations, and convicted by our own consciences, into what dungeons of gloomy and desperate thought shall we be cast! With what fetters of iron weight and burning torment shall we be bound! We are all in some degree enslaved where we are entitled to our freedom. Every passion that gains the mastery, every bad habit that rivets its chain, every servile dread and every guilty remembrance that make us hide ourselves and quake, are portions of the soul's bondage. It is not the design of the Gospel to enlarge the boundaries of our physical state. That must be done by natural science and material means, so far as it is to be done at all. It did not come to set us free from mortal trials and sorrows, except by teaching us to survey them with a juster discernment, and to endure them with a more composed heart. But it bends its whole power towards our emancipation from every unrighteousness, and upon the inability to be comforted and to confide. We shall all be beset with tighter restrictions than cramp us now. Age will throw its fetters round our motions, or maladies will hide our eyes from the light; and death will lay us out at our length,* and we must see the land of its terrible shadow. But there is a divine reality in the might of him who can give us enlargement even out of these confines. We are all "prisoners of hope." Give us the hope that saves men.

N. L. F.

* Μοῖρα τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο.

ART. IV. — INDIAN ANTIQUITIES IN NORTH AMERICA.*

SEVERAL years have passed since the appearance of Mr. Squier's volume on the Aboriginal Monuments of the Mississippi Valley. This valuable work, embodying the results of extensive explorations made chiefly by the author and his coadjutor, Mr. Davis, went far to dispel the Egyptian darkness which shrouded the earlier eras of America. It is marked throughout by a philosophic spirit; by a freedom from theory and speculations; by acuteness, good sense, and diligent research. The copious materials are skilfully arranged, and the reader is left for the most part to form his own conclusions from the facts laid before him.

These conclusions are often of a highly interesting kind. That, long before the discovery of America, large portions of the Mississippi Valley were tenanted by a people farther advanced towards civilization than the existing Indian tribes, is a fact which is made manifest by very slight examination of the traces they have left behind. It remained for Mr. Squier to explain the character and condition of this ancient people, a task which in no small degree he has accomplished. That they must have lived under an effective organization of some kind is clear, he argues, from the remains of so many extensive and complicated works of religion and defence, which, without such organization, would neither have been planned nor executed. That they lived under the influence of some overshadowing superstition is apparent from the colossal remnants of their temples and sacred inclosures. Finally, they must have been an agricultural people; for the dense population which the construction of such works presupposes could never have been sustained by the scanty products of barter or the chase.

An interesting question here arises. What relation

* 1. *Aboriginal Monuments of the State of New York, comprising the Results of Original Surveys and Explorations; with an Illustrative Appendix.* By E. G. SQUIER, A. M. Accepted for Publication by the Smithsonian Institution, October 20th, 1849. 4to. pp. 188.

2. *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois.* By LEWIS H. MORGAN. Rochester: Sage & Brother. New York: Mark H. Newman & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 8vo. pp. 477.

did this lost people bear to the nations of Mexico, and the hunter tribes who still subsist beyond the Mississippi? It is needless, perhaps, to premise, that throughout the continent all the existing tribes and nations of aborigines are stamped with the unquestionable impress of a common race; and to this great American race we need not hesitate to refer the builders of the Western mounds. Nor need we hesitate to assign them a place in the social scale midway between the semi-civilization of Mexico and the barbarism of the hunter tribes. In the mounds are found numerous sculptures wrought in stone, with a degree of skill to which the modern tribes of the same region could make no pretensions. These sculptures usually represent birds, beasts, or reptiles, carved with a wonderful fidelity and with great minuteness. Among them, however, are many representations of the human face. The latter — we judge from an examination of the sculptures themselves — uniformly exhibit those marked peculiar features which belong to the American race, from the Isthmus to the land of the Esquimaux. Again, the hill-forts and vast circumvallations in the valley of the Ohio bear a curious analogy to the defensive works of the Tlascalans and other Mexican nations at the period of Cortéz's invasion. The sacred mounds, also, which frequently occur in the Western and Southern States, and which are described by Mr. Squier under the name of *temple-mounds*, bear a singular resemblance to the *teocallis* of Mexico.

These circumstances cannot fail to suggest interesting inquiries. Were the mound-builders a distinct and independent people? Were they, on the other hand, a colonial offshoot of the nations of Mexico? Or are we justified in the conjecture, that in truth the Mississippi Valley was the nursery of Mexican semi-civilization? There is no reason to despair that future researches will resolve our doubts on these points, and throw clear light on this dark mystery.

In the condition of this ancient people, as shown by the traces they have left behind, there is nothing which need excite any special admiration or wonderment, nothing to kindle the fancy with dreams of vanished splendor. If not savages, they were at least barbarians; they killed their enemies with flint-headed arrows, or bruised

them to death with mallets of stone. They adorned their persons with bracelets of native copper and beads of stone and shell; and they buried their dead in coffins of unhewn logs. Yet the sculptures with which they decorated the bowls of their tobacco-pipes indicate, as we have already mentioned, no slight degree of artistic skill; while the fact, that their sacred inclosures, though sometimes embracing an area of many acres, are often formed with mathematical precision into the figures of circles and squares, displays a degree of knowledge altogether beyond the pretensions of the modern hunter tribes.

Probably, at the time of the discovery of America, no aboriginal nation was extant whose political and social state corresponded precisely with that of the ancient mound-builders. Of all the modern tribes which have tenanted the Mississippi Valley, none have fulfilled more nearly the required conditions than the singular people called the Natchez. They dwelt near the site of the American town to which they have left their name, and their manners have been amply described by Du Pratz, Charlevoix, Le Petit, and other observers. They were an agricultural people. They built rude temples to the Sun, where, under the charge of priests, the sacred fire burned unceasingly. Like the Peruvians, with whom, however, they bear no comparison in respect of social progress, they lived under the spiritual and temporal sway of a race of chiefs claiming to be Children of the Sun. To the head chief was given, *par excellence*, the title of the Great Sun. His subjects regarded him with awe and veneration. They dared not disobey his mandates, and at his death numbers were immolated on his funeral pile. If we suppose a tribe like the Natchez, though somewhat more advanced in the arts, expanded into a numerous population and planted in the valley of the Ohio, nothing seems more probable than that, under the priestly despotism of the Children of the Sun, they would have thrown up rude earth temples and inclosures not unlike those whose vestiges have so long perplexed the antiquary. We write this simply by way of illustration, and to show that we need not have recourse to any extravagant hypothesis to explain the origin of these mysterious monuments.

In the summer of 1848, having completed his survey of the Western mounds, Mr. Squier, under the combined auspices of the New York Historical Society and the Smithsonian Institution, commenced an examination of the aboriginal monuments of New York. After an absence of two months, he returned laden with antiquarian relics, clay pipes and stone axes, rusty gun-barrels and tomahawks, beads, wampum, and arrow-heads. During his short absence he had ascertained the localities of about a hundred aboriginal earth-works, and visited and surveyed half this number. The results of these examinations are embodied in the work whose title stands first at the head of this article.

It has hitherto been supposed that the aboriginal remains of New York were coeval with those of the Mississippi Valley. The same mystery has involved them; the same crude and wild speculations have been thrown out concerning them. Mr. Squier had shared the general impression of their antiquity, but personal examination has induced him to change his opinion. None of these remains exhibit that mathematical accuracy of form which often distinguishes the earth-works of the Mississippi Valley. Again, and this fact is still more significant, the weapons, tools, and other relics found in their neighborhood, are precisely the same with those which occur so abundantly near the sites of modern Indian towns. Within the inclosures are often to be found subterranean repositories, containing stores of parched corn not yet consumed by time. But we will let Mr. Squier speak for himself:—

“In respect to date, nothing positive can be affirmed. Many of them are now covered with heavy forests; a circumstance upon which too much importance has been laid, and which in itself may not necessarily be regarded as indicative of great age, for we may plausibly suppose that it was not essential to the purposes of the builders that the forest should be removed. Still I have seen trees from one to three feet in diameter standing upon the embankments and in the trenches; which would certainly carry back the date of their construction several hundred years, perhaps beyond the period of the discovery in the fifteenth century. There is nothing, however, in this circumstance, nor in any other bearing upon the subject, which would necessarily imply that they were built by tribes anterior to those found in occupation of the country by the whites. And this brings us at

once to the most interesting point of our inquiry, namely, *By whom were these works erected?*

"I have already mentioned, that within them are found many relics of art and many traces of occupancy. These, I had ample opportunities of ascertaining in the course of my investigations, are absolutely *identical* with those which mark the sites of towns and forts known to have been occupied by the Indians within the historical period. The pottery taken from these sites and from within the supposed ancient inclosures is alike in all respects; the pipes and ornaments are undistinguishable; and the indications of aboriginal dwellings are precisely similar, and, so far as can be discovered, have equal claim to antiquity. Near many of these works are found cemeteries, in which well-preserved skeletons are contained, and which, except in the absence of remains of European art, differ in no essential respect from the cemeteries found in connection with the abandoned modern towns and 'castles' of the Indians. There are other not less important facts and coincidences, all of which go to establish that, if the earth-works of Western New York are of a remote ancient date, they were not only *secondarily*, but *generally*, occupied by the Iroquois or neighboring and contemporary nations; or else — and this hypothesis is most consistent and reasonable — they were erected by them." — p. 81.

From this hypothesis we see no reason to dissent. All early writers who have spoken at length of the Iroquois have not failed to remark that the fortified works constructed by them far surpassed in strength and extent those of other tribes. Their villages were surrounded by strong palisades, in single, double, or triple rows, and these palisades, we are told, were kept upright by means of earth heaped against their bases. If this were the case, the ruins of the structure, after the palisades were burnt, or decayed, would exhibit an appearance of a low, continuous ridge or embankment similar to those so often to be seen within the limits of New York.

Thus we emerge from the clouds and darkness of a midnight era, where even the dubious light of tradition cannot penetrate, into the broad, clear field of historic inquiry. And here a new sun has risen, revealing the scene before us in all its breadth and depth. Mr. Morgan's work on the aboriginal tribes of New York is a production of singular merit.

Many will remember, that early in the year 1847 a series of papers appeared in the American Review, upon

the institutions and customs of the Iroquois. They attracted well-deserved attention, from the scholarlike conciseness of their style, the novelty of their materials, and the intimate knowledge which they displayed of the subject under discussion. They were copied into *The Olden Time*, an antiquarian journal published at Pittsburg, and copious extracts appeared in historical compilations and other books of the kind. These papers were from the pen of Mr. Morgan, and are embodied in the present work, of which they form an essential part. A large amount of collateral matter, of equal or superior interest, has been added, and the whole forms a complete account of the political and domestic life of the Iroquois.

Living among the remnants of this remarkable people, and being himself an adopted member of one of their principal tribes, Mr. Morgan has enjoyed unrivalled opportunities for pursuing his researches. He has met with signal success. No one can fully appreciate the work before us who does not know from what confused, incoherent materials it was constructed. We cannot too highly praise the powers of keen analysis with which the author pursued his investigations, the discrimination with which he separated the ore from the dross, and the skill with which he unfolds his intricate subject before the mind of the reader. The institutions of the Iroquois have never before been so exhibited. A few attempts have been made; but without opportunities like those of Mr. Morgan, joined with zeal and ability like his, the task could never be thoroughly accomplished. It is a matter of congratulation, that, before it is too late, one has been found to build this monument to the memory of a fading race.

To find fault with a book of so much merit is not a pleasing task; but in truth Mr. Morgan has been led into some degree of error by the very zeal and devotion with which he has labored. He ascribes to the Iroquois legislators a wisdom and forecast, and a refining spirit, beyond what is, as we conceive, justly their due. In his pages their peculiar institutions assume an appearance of too much studied adjustment and careful elaboration. Mr. Morgan does not appear to have examined with particular attention the social phenomena of any other Indian nations than those which form his immediate theme.

This circumstance is not without advantages. It saves him from certain temptations to speculation and theory ; but, at the same time, it leads him to regard as the peculiar distinction of the Iroquois, that which in fact is common to many other tribes, while it excludes much light which would otherwise have been thrown indirectly on his subject. We shall soon have occasion to illustrate our meaning.

The first chapter of the work treats of the early history of the Iroquois, and is introductory in its nature. In the third chapter Mr. Morgan enters in earnest upon his subject, and dissects and lays open to view the political organization of the confederacy. His information is derived from personal study and observation of the workings of these singular institutions, which, through all the changes of the last eventful century, have still continued to exist. The following extract from the preface alludes to the favorable circumstances under which the investigation was pursued :—

“ As this work does not profess to be based upon authorities, a question may arise in the mind of the reader, whence its materials were derived, or what reliance is to be placed upon its statements. The credibility of a witness is known to depend chiefly upon his means of knowledge. For this reason, it may not be inappropriate to state, that circumstances in early life, not necessary to be related, brought the author into frequent intercourse with the descendants of the Iroquois, and led to his adoption as a Seneca. This gave him favorable opportunities for studying minutely into their social organization, and the structure and principles of the ancient League. Copious notes were made from time to time, when leisure enabled him to prosecute his researches among them, until these had accumulated beyond the bounds of the present volume. As the materials increased in quantity and variety, the interest awakened in the subject finally induced the idea of its arrangement for publication.”

It would be useless, within the limits of a brief article, to attempt describing the Iroquois institutions with any fulness of detail. For such description we must refer to the book itself, where, even in the condensed style of Mr. Morgan, many pages are occupied with the necessary explanations. We shall only indicate the prominent and essential features.

The Iroquois consisted of five distinct, independent

nations, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. These five members were banded in a strong confederacy. The sachems, or principal civil chiefs of all the nations, united to form the grand council of the league. This council administered all foreign affairs, and in some measure regulated the domestic concerns of the Iroquois.

But the great distinctive feature of the league still remains to be mentioned. The whole Iroquois people, irrespective of their division into nations, consisted of eight tribes, each distinguished by the name of some animal whose figure formed its badge or device. All the members of each tribe were bound together by the strongest ties of fraternity. The members of the Wolf tribe, for example, whether Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, or Senecas, looked on each other with a strong regard. Thus, it will be seen, the five nations were laced together by an eightfold band of tribal relationship.

The rule of succession to the sachemship, or a seat in the grand council, is too remarkable to pass unnoticed. This succession was in a broad and qualified sense hereditary. But among the Iroquois, all property and all dignities descended in the female line. Thence it happened that the son of the sachem was perpetually disinherited. A brother, a sister's son, or any other relative on the female side, might gain the vacant office, but the son of the deceased ruler could never hope to fill his father's place. Thus one of the strongest temptations of ambition was completely cut off.

Mr. Morgan has unravelled the whole fabric of Iroquois polity with the hand of a master and the spirit of an earnest searcher after truth. But for him, its texture, in all probability, would never have been fully made known. It only remains for us to examine how far these institutions were peculiar to the Iroquois; to inquire whether they proceeded from deliberate legislation, or whether they were not, in great measure, the results of spontaneous development and fortuitous circumstance.

The fundamental principle of the league, and its greatest safeguard, lay in the system of tribal divisions. This system is by no means confined to the Iroquois. It is to be found with various modifications among numer-

ous tribes speaking languages radically distinct, Iroquois, Algonquin, and Mobilian. Its nature is peculiar and needs explanation. Suppose several clans of Scotch Highlanders, McDonald, Campbell, and McGregor, the members of each being knit together by certain ties of kindred, real or imagined. Suppose that the members of the same clan were forbidden to intermarry,—that McDonald could not marry McDonald, but must seek a wife among the McGregors or the Campbells. Thus it would soon happen that the three clans would become closely intermixed, though each might retain to a considerable degree its ancient pride of birth and name. These mingled clans would then become a tolerably exact counterpart of an Indian community. One great distinction must, however, be observed. Among Indians the descent of the tribeship is usually in the female line. Thus, where a man of the Wolf tribe takes a wife from that of the Hawks, the children will be Hawks and not Wolves.

This system prevailed very generally among the Indians east of the Mississippi. Adair and Hawkins affirm that it existed among the Cherokees and Creeks. Gallatin discovered it among the Choctaws. It appears from the garbled accounts of Loskiel, that it was to be found in a modified form among the Delawares; and many writers have mentioned it as occurring among the Algonquins of the North. Among the Wyandots, a nation kindred to the Iroquois, it flourished in perfection, as may be found by any one who will closely observe the remnants of that tribe, living, when we last saw them, on the frontiers of Missouri.

The number of the tribes varies, in different communities, from three up to thirty or forty. A Choctaw chief told Mr. Gallatin at Washington, that his nation consisted of eight tribes divided into two classes of four each. It is not a little remarkable, that the same number of tribes and the same classifications prevailed among the Iroquois. Among the Ojibwas, again, the tribes seem indefinitely multiplied, and, according to the observations of Mr. Schoolcraft, the child follows the tribe of its father, and not of its mother. Yet, even in this nation, where the tribal system exists in its loosest and most imperfect state, the members of each tribe often ad-

here to each other with singular tenacity through good and evil fortune.

The descent of chiefs in the female line is a custom closely connected with the system of tribeship. Like the latter, it may be traced over a wide extent of territory. Of the various writers who have described the manners of the Natchez, few have omitted to mention this rule of inheritance. Hawkins observed it among the Creeks. Carver found it among some of the nations of the Upper Mississippi. Loskiel ascribes it to the Delawares, and Brebeuf to the Wyandots. Indeed, evidence on this point might be accumulated to a large amount. The probable origin of the custom is obvious, and does no credit to Indian society. In communities where the bond of marriage was by no means strictly regarded, such a provision would afford the only security that the heir should in truth be a blood relative of the deceased.

Thus, it will be seen, the two fundamental principles which form the groundwork of Iroquois polity are not confined to that people alone. They existed among many Indian nations, but with this difference, that while in the one instance they were moulded into a regular and systematic form, they remained in the other crude, raw, and undigested.

The confederation of several nations is not an anomaly in Indian history. Many imperfect attempts of the kind are on record. Nations have often been known to act in concert, and hold a council-fire in common, but for strength, efficiency, and permanency, the league of the Iroquois is without a parallel. This people were distinguished in a high degree by energy, stability, and, we may add, ferocity of temper. Their moral and intellectual superiority over most of the surrounding tribes cannot be denied. Their sachems had the wisdom to discern the advantages of a confederacy, and the skill to establish it on a lasting basis; but it is needless to suppose that out of a profound sense of their political advantages they instituted the customs which entered essentially into their scheme of government, since there is every reason to believe that these customs were ready formed to their hands.

The league, as it seems to us, must have been formed in a manner somewhat as follows. That the Iroquois

were once a single, undivided people, is evident from the distribution of the tribes; for each of the eight tribes has its representatives in each of the five nations. The exigencies of savage life might easily have produced the separation. Circumstances of this kind are common in Indian history. In such cases each portion of the dismembered community assumes a name of its own. The divided Iroquois, harassed by the attacks of enemies, or threatened with a general inroad, might have been led to see the advantages of a league; and to effect this end, the most simple and obvious course would have been, that the sachems of all the nations should unite in a common council. When this was done, when a few functionaries had been appointed, and certain necessary forms and regulations established, the league would have found itself, without any very elaborate legislation, in the condition in which it stood at the period of its highest prosperity. Under similar circumstances, the Wyandots might have formed a similar scheme of polity, since the requisite materials existed among them, as well as among the Iroquois. Indeed, the Wyandots, in character, habits, and customs, bear a marked resemblance to the more renowned nations of the league.

We would gladly follow Mr. Morgan through the interesting part of the volume which describes the mythology, the legendary lore, the customs, habits, and character, of the Iroquois; but the reader must have recourse to his pages. The following passage, introduced in connection with the religious belief of the Five Nations, conveys a singular tribute to the memory of Washington.

“Among the modern beliefs engrafted upon the ancient faith, there is one which is worthy of particular notice. It relates to Washington. According to their present belief, no white man ever reached the Indian heaven. Not having been created by the Great Spirit, no provision was made for him in their scheme of theology. He was excluded both from heaven and the place of punishment. But an exception was made in favor of Washington. Because of his justice and benevolence to the Indian, he stood preëminent above all other white men. When, by the peace of 1783, the Indians were abandoned by their English allies, and left to make their own terms with the American government, the Iroquois were more exposed to severe measures than the other tribes in their alliance. At this critical moment, Washing-

ton interfered in their behalf, as the protector of Indian rights, and the advocate of a policy towards them of the most enlightened justice and humanity. After his death, he was mourned by the Iroquois as a benefactor of their race, and his memory was cherished with reverence and affection. A belief was spread abroad among them, that the Great Spirit had received him into a celestial residence upon the plains of heaven, the only white man whose noble deeds had entitled him to this heavenly favor. Just by the entrance of heaven is a walled inclosure, the ample grounds within which are laid out with avenues and shaded walks. Within is a spacious mansion, constructed in the fashion of a fort. Every object in nature which could please a cultivated taste has been gathered in this blooming Eden, to render it a delightful dwelling-place for the immortal Washington. The faithful Indian, as he enters heaven, passes this inclosure. He sees and recognizes the illustrious inmate, as he walks to and fro in quiet meditation. But no word ever passes his lips. Dressed in his uniform, and in a state of perfect felicity, he is destined to remain through eternity in the solitary enjoyment of the celestial residence prepared for him by the Great Spirit." — p. 178.

The volume is illustrated by excellent engravings, and by a map of the Iroquois country at a period when the league was in full vigor, exhibiting the position of their villages, their ancient trails, the boundaries of the several nations, and the names by which they designated spots where American towns have since arisen. It is much to be wished that the wretched titles borrowed from antiquity, with which vulgarity and ignorance have plentifully besprinkled our maps, might give place to the sonorous names of the Iroquois. Such a consummation, however, is rather to be desired than hoped for. We will not, however, despair but that the time may come when good taste will have sufficient sway in our republic to cause the restoration of the ancient titles of fields, streams, and mountains. Meanwhile, we cordially commend the work of Mr. Morgan to the study of all with whom the character and customs of those who preceded us on this soil are objects of interest.

F. P. jr.

ART. V.—THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF DEATH
AND LIFE.

WE propose to gather up, and present in one view, the essential Christian doctrine of death and life. At the same time we shall aim to show the actual falsity of the dogmas often ascribed to it, and the actual truth of the views it does really present. The distinctive opinions of the several writers of the New Testament relate to particulars not of fundamental or vital importance. In regard to the broad, essential principles of the subject, they all agree. It is of this common ground that we propose now to treat, endeavoring to project it clearly into recognition, and to explain and justify it by facts of reason, experience, and observation.

Let us first notice the emphatic sense, the uncommon amount of meaning, which Christ and the Apostolic writers usually put into the words *Death*, *Life*, and other kindred terms. These words are scarcely ever used merely in their literal sense, but are charged with a vivid and fresh fulness of significance, not to be fathomed without especial attention. "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." Obviously, this means more than simple life, because those who overlook the laws of virtue may still live. It signifies, distinctively, true life, the experience of inward peace and of Divine favor. "Whosoever hateth his brother hath not eternal life abiding in him, but abideth in death"; that is to say, a soul rankling with bad passions is "in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity," but when converted from hatred to love, it passes from wretchedness to blessedness. "Let the dead bury their dead." No one reading this passage with its context can fail to perceive that it means, substantially,— "Let those who are absorbed in the affairs of this world, and indifferent to the revelation I have brought from heaven, attend to the interment of the dead; but delay not thou, who art kindled with a lively interest in the truth, to proclaim the kingdom of God." When the returning prodigal had been joyfully received, the father said, in reply to the murmurs of the elder son, "Thy brother was dead and is alive again"; he was lost in sin and misery, he is found in penitence and happi-

ness. Paul writes thus to the Romans: — “Without the law sin was dead, and I was alive; but when the law was made known, sin came to life, and I died.” In other words, when a man is ignorant of the moral law, immoral conduct does not prevent him from feeling innocent and being at peace; but when a knowledge of the law shows the wickedness of that conduct, he becomes conscious of guilt, and is unhappy. For instance, to state the thought a little differently, to a child knowing nothing of the law, the law, or its purposed violation, sin, does not exist, is dead; he therefore enjoys peace of conscience; but when he becomes aware of the law and its authority, if he then breaks it, sin is generated and immediately stings, and spiritual happiness dies.

These passages, though many similar to them might be adduced, are sufficient to show that Christianity uses the words *death* and *life* in a figurative, spiritual sense, penetrating to the hidden realities of the soul. To speak thus of the guilty, unbelieving man as dead, and only of the virtuous, believing man as truly alive, may seem at first a bold, and even startling, use of figurative language. It will not appear so when we notice its appropriateness to the case, or remember the imaginative nature of Oriental speech, and recollect how often we employ the same terms in the same way at the present time. The fitness of the language, and how naturally it would be suggested, is so evident as to need no illustration. It will be in place, however, to give a few examples of its use outside of the Scriptures. The Pythagoreans, when one of their number became impious and abandoned, were accustomed to consider him as dead, and to erect a tomb to him, on which his name and his age at the time of his moral decease were engraved. The Roman law regarded an excommunicated citizen as *civilis mortuus*, legally dead. Fénelon writes, — “God has kindled a flame in the bottom of every heart, which should always burn as a lamp for him who hath lighted it, and all other life is as death.” Chaucer says, in one of his *Canterbury Tales*, referring to a man enslaved by dissolute habits, —

“But certes, he that haunteth swiche delices,
Is ded while that he liveth in tho’ vices.”

And in a recent poem the following lines occur: —

"From his eyes
The light has fled;
When faith departs, when honor dies,
The man is dead."

To be subjected to the lower impulses of our nature by degraded habits of vice and criminality is wretchedness and death. The true life of man consists, the Great Teacher declared, "not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth, but rather in his being rich toward God," in conscious purity of heart, energy of faith, and union with the Holy Spirit. "He that lives in sensual pleasure is dead while he lives," Paul asserts, but he that lives in spiritual righteousness has already risen from the dead, after the likeness of the resurrection of Christ. To sum up the whole in a single sentence, the service and the fruits of sin form an experience which Christianity justly calls death, because it is a state of insensibility to all the aims, elements, and results of true life, in the adequate sense of that term, meaning the serene activity and religious joy of the soul.

The second particular in the essential doctrine of Christianity concerning the states of human experience which it entitles death and life, is their inherent, enduring nature, their independence on the objects and changes of this world. The Gospel teaches that the elements of our being and experience are transferred from the life that now is into the life that is to come, or rather, that we exist continuously for ever, uninterrupted by the event of physical dissolution. "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him," Jesus declares, "shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life." John affirms,—"The world passeth away, and the lust thereof, but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever." Paul writes to the Christians at Rome,—"In that Christ died, he died unto sin once; but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God." Numerous additional texts of kindred import, in the New Testament, might be cited, were it necessary. They announce the immortality of man, the unending continuance of the Christian consciousness, unless forfeited by voluntary defection. They show that sin and woe are not arbitrarily bounded by the limits of time and sense in the grave, and that nothing can ever exhaust or destroy

the satisfaction of true life, a real faith in the love of God; it abides, blessed and eternal, in the uninterrupted blessedness and eternity of its Object. The revelation and offer of all this to the acceptance of men, its conditions, claims, and alternative sanctions, were first divinely made known and planted in the heart of the world, as the Scriptures everywhere with emphasis and repetition assert, by Jesus Christ, who promulgated them by his preaching, illustrated them by his example, proved them by his works, attested them by his blood, and crowned them by his resurrection. And now there is opened for all of us, through him, that is to say, through belief and obedience of what he taught, an access unto the Father, an assurance of his forgiveness of us, and of our reconciliation with him. By becoming Christians, we may enter upon the experience of that true life which is "joy and peace in believing," and which remains indestructible through all the vanishing *vagrancies* of sin, misery, and the world. "This is eternal life, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent"; that is, true, imperishable life, the real and enduring happiness of man, is to be obtained by union with God in faith and love, through a hearty acceptance of the instructions of Christ.

The two points thus far considered are, first, that the sinful, unbelieving, wretched man is morally dead, abides in virtual death, while the righteous, happy believer in the Gospel is truly alive, has the experience of genuine life; and, secondly, that these essential elements of human character and experience survive all events of time and place in everlasting continuance.

The next consideration prominent in the Christian doctrine of death and life is the distinction continually made between the body and the soul. Man is regarded under a twofold aspect, as flesh and spirit,—the one a temporal accompaniment and dependent medium, the other an immortal being in itself. The distinction is a fundamental one, and runs through all philosophy and religion in their reference to man. In the Christian Scriptures it is not sharply drawn, with logical precision, nor always accurately maintained, but is loosely defined, with waving outlines, is often employed carelessly, and sometimes, if strictly taken, inconsistently,—as every competent reader of the Pauline letters knows. Let us

first note a few examples of the distinction itself in the instructions of the Saviour and of the different New Testament writers.

"That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit." "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul." "Though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed." "He that soweth to his flesh shall reap corruption, he that soweth to the spirit shall reap life everlasting." "Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit." "Knowing that I must shortly put off this tabernacle." "The body without the spirit is dead." It would be useless to accumulate examples. It is plain that these authors distinguish the body and the soul as two things conjoined for a season, the latter of which will continue to live when the other has mixed with the dust. The facts and phenomena of our being from which this distinction springs are so numerous and influential, so profound and so obvious, that it is impossible they should escape the knowledge of any thinking person. Indeed, the distinction has found a recognition everywhere among men, from the ignorant savage, whose instincts and imagination shadow forth a dim world in which the impalpable images of the departed dwell, to the philosopher of piercing intellect and universal culture,

"Whose lore detects beneath our crumbling clay
A soul, exiled, and journeying back to day."

Whether the conclusion be true or not, man naturally believes that the body and the soul are two things, mysteriously united, but essentially distinct. This idea, as we have seen, Christianity adopts, advancing it in diverse forms and with peculiar emphasis. "Labor not for the meat which perisheth," Jesus exhorts his followers, "but labor for the meat which endureth unto everlasting life." The body and the luxury that pampers it shall perish, but the spirit and the love that feeds it shall abide for ever.

We now pass to examine some metaphorical terms, often erroneously interpreted as conveying merely their literal force. To understand this portion of the subject clearly, it will be necessary to dwell upon it in different lights, and somewhat in detail. Every one familiar with

the language of the New Testament must remember how repeatedly the body and the soul, or the flesh and the spirit, are set in direct opposition to each other, sin being referred to the former, righteousness to the latter. "I know that in my flesh there is no good thing, but with my mind I delight in the law of God." "The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit lusteth against the flesh, and these are contrary the one to the other." All this language—and it is extensively used in the Epistles—is quite generally understood in a fixed, literal sense, whereas it was employed by its authors in a fluctuating, figurative sense, as the unprejudiced critical student can hardly help perceiving. We will state the real substance of Christian teaching and phraseology on this point in two general formulas, which we will then proceed to sustain and illustrate. First, both the body and the soul may be corrupt, lawless, empty of divine belief, full of restlessness and suffering, in a state of moral death; or both may be pure, obedient, acceptable in the sight of God, full of faith, peace, and joy, in a state of genuine life. Secondly, whatever tends in any way to the former result, to make man guilty, feeble, and wretched, to deaden his spiritual sensibilities, to keep him from union with God and from immortal reliances, is variously personified as "the Flesh," "Sin," "Death," "Mammon," "the World," "the Law of the Members," "the Law of Sin and Death"; whatever, on the contrary, tends in any way to the latter result, to purify man, intensify his moral powers, exalt and quicken his consciousness in the assurance of the favor of God and of eternal being, is personified as "the Spirit," "Life," "Righteousness," "the Law of God," "the Law of the Inward Man," "Christ," "the Law of the Spirit of Life in Christ." Under the first class of terms are included all the temptations and agencies by which man is led to sin, and the results of misery they effect; under the second class are included all the aspirations and influences by which he is led to righteousness, and the results of happiness they insure. For example, it is written, in the Epistle to the Galatians, that "the manifest works of the flesh are excessive sensuality, idolatry, hatred, emulations, quarrels, heresies, murders, and such like." Certainly, some of these evils are more connected with the mind than with the body. The term *flesh* is

obviously used in a sense coextensive with the tendencies and means by which we are exposed to guilt and degradation. These personifications, it will therefore be seen, are employed with general rhetorical looseness, not with definite logical exactness.

It is self-evident that the mind is the actual agent and author of all sins and virtues, and that the body, in itself, is unconscious, irresponsible, incapable of guilt. "Every sin that man doeth is without the body." In illustration of this point Chrysostom says, "If a tyrant or robber were to seize some royal mansion, it would not be the fault of the house." And how greatly they err who think that any of the New Testament writers mean to represent the flesh as necessarily sinful, and the spirit as always pure, the following cases to the contrary from Paul, whose speech seems most to lean that way, will abundantly show. "Glorify God in your body and in your spirit which are (both) his." "Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost?" "Yield not your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin, but as instruments of righteousness unto God." "That the life of Jesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh." "Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God." It is clear that the author of these sentences did not regard the body, or literal flesh, as necessarily unholy, but as capable of being used by the man himself in fulfilling the will of God. Texts that appear to contradict this must be held as figures, or as impassioned rhetorical exclamations. We also read of "the lusts of the mind," the "fleshly mind," "filthiness of the spirit," "seducing spirits," "corrupt minds," "mind and conscience defiled," "reprobate mind," — showing plainly that the spirit was sometimes regarded as guilty and morally dead. Finally, the Apostle writes, "I pray that your whole spirit and soul and body may be preserved blameless." The Scriptural declarations now cited explicitly teach that both the body and the soul may be subjected to the perfect law of God, or both may abide in rebellion and wickedness; the latter state being called, metaphorically, "walking after the flesh," the former "walking after the spirit"; that being sin and death, this righteousness and life.

An explanation of the origin of these metaphors will cast further light upon the subject. The use of a por-

tion of them arose from the fact, that many of the most easily besetting and pernicious vices, conditions and allurements of sin, defilements and clogs of the spirit, come through the body, which, while it is itself evidently fated to perish, does by its earthly solicitations entice, contaminate, and debase the soul that by itself is invited to better things and seems destined to immortality. Not that these evils originate in the body, — of course, all the doings of a man spring from the spirit of man which is in him, — but that the body is the occasion and the aggravating medium of their manifestation. This thought is not contradicted, only omitted, in the words of Peter, — “I beseech you, as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul.” For such language would be spontaneously suggested by the fact, that to be in bondage to the baser nature is hostile alike to spiritual dignity and peace, and to physical health and strength; a fact which makes the poet’s lines true in a twofold sense: —

“Thy frame a battle-field,
Where every pulse and breath
Bring tidings from the ground
Where life is meeting death.”

The principles of the moral nature are at war with the passions of the animal nature, the goading vices of the mind are at war with the organic harmonies of the body; and on the issues of these conflicts hang all the interests of life and death, in every sense the words can be made to bear.

Another reason for the use of these figures of speech, undoubtedly, was the philosophy of the ineradicable hostility of matter and spirit, the doctrine, so prevalent in the East from the earliest times, that matter is wholly corrupt and evil, the essential root and source of all vileness. An old, unknown Greek poet embodies the very soul of this faith in a few verses which we find in the *Anthology*. Literally rendered, they run thus: —

The body is the torment, hell, fate, load, tyrant,
Dreadful pest, and punishing trial of the soul,
Which, when it quits the body, flies, as from the bonds
Of death, to immortal God.

It was this idea that produced the wild asceticism prevalent in the Christian Church during the Middle Ages and previously; the fearful macerations, scourgings, cru-

cifixions of the flesh. It should be understood, that, though some of the phraseology of the Scriptures is tinged by the influence of this doctrine, the doctrine itself is foreign to Christianity. Christ came eating and drinking, not abjuring nature, but adopting its teachings, viewing it as a divine work through which the providence of God is displayed and his glory gleams. The Apostles never recommend self-inflicted torments. The ascetic expressions found in their letters grew directly out of the perils besetting them, and their expectation of the speedy end of the world. Christianity, rightly understood, renders even the body of a good man sacred and precious, through the indwelling of the Infinite. "We have this treasure in earthen vessels," and the poor, dying tenement of flesh is hallowed as

"A vase of earth, a trembling clod,
Constrained to hold the breath of God."

The chief secret, however, of the origin of the peculiar phrases under consideration consisted in their striking fitness to the nature and facts of the case, their adaptedness to express these facts in a bold and vivid manner. The revelation of the transcendent claims of holiness, of the pardoning love of God, of the splendid boon of immortality, made by Christ and enforced by the miraculous sanctions and the kindling motives presented in his example, thrilled the souls of the first converts, shamed them of their degrading sins, opened before their imaginations a vision that paled the glories of the world, and regenerated them, stirring up the depths of their religious sensibilities, and flooding their whole being with a warmth, an energy, a spirituality, that made their previous experience seem a gross carnal slumber, a virtual death. "And you hath he quickened who were dead in trespasses and sins." They were animated and raised to a new, pure, glad life, through the feeling of the hopes and the practice of the virtues of the Gospel of Christ. Unto those who "were formerly in the flesh, the servants of sin, bringing forth fruit unto death," but now obeying the new form of doctrine delivered unto them, with renewed hearts and changed conduct, it is written, "If Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the spirit is life because of righteousness." That is, if Christian truth reign in you, the body

may still be tormented, or powerless, owing to your previous bad habits; but the soul will be redeemed from its abandonment to error and vice, and be assured of pardon and immortal life by the witnessing spirit of God.

The Apostle also tells them, that, "If the spirit of God dwell in you, it shall also quicken your mortal bodies." This remarkable expression was meant to convey a thought which the observation of common facts approves and explains. If the love of the pure principles of the Gospel was established in them, their bodies, debilitated and deadened by former abandonment to their lusts, should be freed and reanimated by its influence. The body to a great extent reflects the permanent mind and life of a man. It is an aphorism of Solomon, that "A sound heart is the life of the flesh." And Plotinus declares, "Temperance and justice are the saviours of the body so far as they are received by it." Deficiency of thought and knowledge, laziness of spirit, animality of habits, betray themselves plainly enough in the state and expression of the physical frame; they render it coarse, nerveless, dim, unmeaning, heavy, and insensible; the person verges towards the condition of a clod, spiritual things are clouded, the beacon-fire of his destiny wanes, the possibilities of Christian faith lessen, "the external and the insensate creep in on his organized clay," he feels the chain of the brute earth more and more, and finally gives himself up to utter death. On the other hand, the reception and assimilation of divine truth and goodness by a man, the cherishing fulfilment and love of all high duties and aspirations, exert a purifying, energizing power both on the flesh and the mind, animate and strengthen them, like a heavenly flame burn away the defiling entanglements and the spiritual fogs that fill and hang around the wicked and sensual, increasingly pervade his consciousness with an inspired force and freedom, illuminate his face, touch the magnetic springs of health and healthful sympathy, make him completely alive, and bring him into living connection with the Omnipresent Life, so that he perceives the full testimony that he shall never die. For, when brought into such a state by the experience of live spirits in live frames,

"We feel through all this fleshly dresse
Bright shootes of everlastingnesse."

Spiritual sloth and sensual indulgence stupefy and blunt,

and confuse together in lifeless meshes the vital tenant and the mortal tenement; they grow incorporate, alike unclean, powerless, guilty, and wretched, —

“To live a life half dead, a living death,
Himself his sepulchre, a moving grave.”

Active, thorough virtue, profound love, and the earnest, pious pursuit in the daily duties of life of

“Those lofty musings which within us sow
The seeds of higher kind and brighter being,”

cleanse, vivify, and distinguish the body and the soul, so that when this tabernacle of clay crumbles from around us the unimprisoned spirit soars into the universe at once, and, looking back upon the shadowy king bearing his pale prey to the tomb, exclaims, “O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?” The facts, then, of sin, guilt, weakness, misery, unbelief, decay, insensibility, and death, joined with the opposite corresponding class of facts, and considered in their mutual spiritual and physical relations and results, originally suggested, and now interpret and justify, that peculiar phraseology of the New Testament which we have been investigating. It has no recondite meaning drawn from arbitrary dogmas, but a plain meaning drawn from natural truths.

It remains next to see what is the Christian doctrine concerning literal, physical death,—the actual origin and significance of that solemn event. This point must be treated the more at length on account of the erroneous notions prevailing upon the subject. For that man's first disobedience was the procuring cause of organic, as well as of moral death, is a doctrine quite generally believed, even at the present day. It is a fundamental article in the creeds of all the principal denominations of Christendom, and is traditionally held, from the neglect of investigation, by nearly all Christians. By this theory, the words of James, who writes, “Sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death,” are interpreted with strict literalness. It is conceived that a physical immortality on the earth was the original destination of man. Had not evil entered his heart, and caused him to fall from his native innocence, he would have roamed among the flowers of Eden to this day. But he violated the

commandment of his Maker, and sentence of death was passed upon him and his posterity to the latest generation. We are now to prove, that this imaginative theory is far from the truth; that natural death is not the result of sin, but a part of God's plan from the commencement; that according to the philosophy unfolded in the New Testament, conscious holiness is, to a Christian believer, peace, joy, union with God, life,—that is, a sense of blessed being; while conscious guilt is unrest, suffering, alienation from God, death,—that is, moral lethargy and essential misery.

The language in which the original account of Adam's sin and its punishment is stated, shows conclusively that the penalty of transgression was not literal death, but spiritual, that is, degradation, suffering. God's warning in relation to the forbidden tree was, "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." Of course, Jehovah's solemn declaration was fulfilled as he had said. But in the day that man partook of the prohibited fruit, he did not die a physical death. He lived, driven from the delights of Paradise, upwards of eight hundred years, earning his bread by the sweat of his brow. Consequently, the death with which he had been threatened must have been a moral death, loss of innocence and joy, experience of guilt and woe.

The common usage of the words connected with this subject in the New Testament still more clearly substantiates the view just taken of it. There is a class of words, linked together by similarity of meaning and closeness of mutual relation, often used by the Christian writers loosely, figuratively, and sometimes interchangeably,—as has been shown already in another connection. We mean the words sin, flesh, misery, death. The same remark may be made of another class of words of precisely opposite signification,—righteousness, faith, life, blessedness, eternal life. These different words frequently stand to represent the same idea. "As the law hath reigned through sin unto death, so shall grace reign through righteousness unto life." In other terms, as the recognition of the retributive law of God through rebellion and guilt filled the consciences of men with wretchedness, so the acceptance of the pardoning love of God through faith and conformity will fill them with blessed-

ness. Sin includes conscious disobedience and alienation; righteousness includes conscious obedience and reconciliation. Sin and death, it will be seen, are related just as righteousness and life are. The fact that they are sometimes represented in the relation of identity, — “the minding of the flesh is death, but the minding of the spirit is life,” — and sometimes in the relation of cause and effect, — “the *fruit* of sin is death, the *fruit* of righteousness is life,” — proves that the words are used metaphorically, and really mean conscious guilt and misery, conscious virtue and blessedness. No other view is consistent. We are urged to be “dead unto sin, but alive unto God”; that is, to be in a state of moral perfection which turns a deaf and invincible front to all the influences of evil, but is open and joyfully sensitive to every thing good and holy. Paul also wrote, in his letter to the Philippians, that he had “not yet attained unto the resurrection,” but was striving to attain unto it; that is, he had not yet reached, but was striving to reach, that lofty state of holiness and peace invulnerable to sin, which no change can injure, with which the event of bodily dissolution cannot interfere, because its elements — faith, truth, justice, and love — are the immutable principles of everlasting life.

In confirmation of this conclusion, an argument amounting wellnigh to positive certainty is afforded by the way in which the disobedience of Adam and its consequences, and the obedience of Christ and its consequences, are spoken of together; by the way in which a sort of antithetical parallel is drawn between the result of Adam’s fall and the result of Christ’s mission. “As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men; so much more shall all receive the gift of God by one man, Jesus Christ, and reign unto eternal life.” This means, as the writer himself afterwards explains, that, “as by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners,” and suffered the consequences of sin, figuratively expressed by the word death, “so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous,” and enjoy the consequences of righteousness, figuratively expressed by the word life. Give the principal terms in this passage their literal force, and no meaning which is not absolutely incompatible with the plain-

est truths can be drawn from it. Surely literal death had come equally and fully upon all men everywhere, literal life could do no more. But render the idea in this way, — the blessedness offered to men in the revelation of grace made by Jesus outweighs the wretchedness brought upon them through the sin introduced by Adam, — and the sense is satisfactory. That which Adam is represented as having lost, that, the Apostle affirms, Christ restored; that which Adam is said to have incurred, that Christ is said to have removed. But Christ did not restore to man a physical immortality on the earth; therefore that is not what Adam forfeited, but he lost peace of conscience and trust in the Divine favor. Furthermore, Christ did not free his followers from natural decay and death; therefore that is not what Adam's transgression brought upon his children, but it entailed upon them proclivities to evil, spiritual unrest, and woe. The basis of the comparison is evidently this: Adam's disobedience showed that the consequences of sin, through the stern operation of the law, were strife, despair, and misery, all of which is implied in the New Testament usage of the word death; Christ's obedience showed that the consequences of righteousness, through the free grace of God, were faith, peace, and indestructible happiness, all of which is implied in the New Testament usage of the word life. In the mind of Paul there was undoubtedly an additional thought, connecting the descent of the soul to the underworld with the death of the sinful Adam, and its ascent to heaven with the resurrection of the immaculate Christ; but this does not touch the argument just advanced, because it does not refer to the *cause* of physical dissolution, but to what followed that event.

It will not be out of place here to demonstrate that sin actually was not the origin of natural decay, by the revelations of science, which prove that death was a monarch on the earth for ages before moral transgression was known. As the geologist wanders, and studies the records of nature, where earthquake, deluge, and volcano have exposed the structure of the globe and its organic remains in strata piled on strata, upon these, as upon so many pages of the earth's autobiography, he reads the history of a hundred races of animals which lived and died, leaving their bones layer above layer, in regular succession, centuries before the existence of man. It is

evident, then, that independent of human guilt, and from the very first, the mechanical and chemical laws were in force, waging their cumulative conflict against the vital functions, and death was a part of God's plan in the material creation. As the previous animals perished without sin, so without sin the animal part of man too would have died. It was made perishable from the outset. The important point just here in the theology of Paul was, as previously implied, that death was intended to lead the soul directly to heaven in a new "spiritual body," or "heavenly house"; but sin marred the plan, and doomed the soul to go into the under-world a naked *manes* when "unclothed" of "the natural body" or "earthly house." The mission of Christ was to restore the original plan, and would be consummated at his second coming.

There is a gross absurdity involved in the supposition, that an earthly immortality was the intended destiny of man. That supposition necessarily implies that the whole groundwork of God's first design was a failure, that his great purpose was thwarted and changed into one wholly different. And it is absurd to think such a result possible in the providence of the Almighty. Nor is this theory free from another, still more palpable absurdity; for had there been no interference of death, to remove one generation and make room for another, the world could not support the multitudes with which it would now swarm. Moreover, the time would arrive when the earth could not only not afford sustenance to its so numerous inhabitants, but could not even contain them. So that if this were the original arrangement, unless certain other parts which were indisputable portions of it were cancelled, the surplus myriads would have to be removed to some other world. That is just what death accomplishes. Consequently death was a part of God's primal plan, and not a contingency accidentally caused by sin.

If death be the result of sin, then, of course, it is a punishment inflicted upon man for his wickedness. In fact, this is an identical proposition. But death cannot be intended as a punishment, because, viewed in that light, it is unjust. It comes equally upon old and young, good and bad, joyous and wretched. It does not permit

the best man to live longest; it does not come with the greatest terror and agony to the most guilty. All these things depend on a thousand contingencies strung upon an iron law, which inheres to the physical world of necessity, and has not its basis and action in the spiritual sphere of freedom, character, and experience. The innocent babe and the hardened criminal are struck at the same instant and die the same death. Solomon knew this when he said, "As dieth the fool, so the wise man dieth." Death regarded as a retribution for sin is unjust, because it is destitute of moral discrimination. It therefore is not a consequence of transgression, but an era, incident, and step in human existence, an established part of the visible order of things from the beginning. When the New Testament speaks of death as a punishment, it always uses the word in a symbolic sense, meaning spiritual deadness and misery, which is a perfect retribution, because it discriminates with unerring exactness. Milton justly remarks, in his *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, — "Under the head of death, in Scripture, all evils whatever must be understood as comprehended."

Finally, natural death cannot be the penalty of unrighteousness, because it is not a curse and a woe, but a blessing and a privilege. It cannot be the effect of man's sin, because it is the improvement of man's condition. Who can believe it would be better for man to remain on earth for ever, under any circumstances, than it is for him to go to heaven to such an experience as the faithful follower of Christ supposes is there awaiting him? It is not to be thought by us that death is a frowning enemy thrusting us into the gloom of eternal night or into the flaming waves of irremedial torment, but rather a smiling friend ushering us into the endless life of the spiritual world and into the unveiled presence of God. According to the arrangement and desire of God, for us to die is gain; every personal exception to this, if there be any exception, is caused through the marring interference of personal wickedness with the Creator's intention and with natural order. Who has not sometimes felt the bondage of the body and the trials of earth, and peered with awful thrills of curiosity into the mysteries of the unseen world, until he has longed for the hour of the soul's liberation, that it might plume itself for an

immortal flight? Who has not experienced moments of serene faith, in which he could hardly help exclaiming, —

“ I would not live alway, I ask not to stay :
O, who would live alway away from his God ? ”

A favorite of Apollo prayed for the best gift Heaven could bestow upon man. The god said, “ At the end of seven days it shall be granted ; in the mean time, live happy.” At the appointed hour he fell into a sweet slumber, from which he never awoke. He who regards death as upon the whole an evil does not take the Christian’s view of it, not even the enlightened pagan’s view, but the frightened sensualist’s view, the superstitious atheist’s view. And if death be upon the whole normally a blessing, then assuredly it cannot be a punishment brought upon man by sin.

The New Testament does not teach that natural death, organic separation, is the fruit of sin ; that, if man had not sinned, he would have lived for ever on the earth. This doctrine is false too. But it does teach that moral death, misery, is the consequence of violated law ; that sin is the origin of suffering. And that is a profound truth which it behooves us to understand. The great first fountain of suffering is guilt. The sting of death is the law, the condition and life of remorse is the consciousness of a divine obligation voluntarily set at naught. The pains and afflictions which sometimes come upon the good without fault of theirs do yet spring from human faults somewhere, with those exceptions alone that result from the necessary contingencies of finite creatures, exposures outside the sphere of human accountability. With this small qualification, it would be easy to show in detail that the sufferings of the private individual, and of mankind at large, are directly or indirectly the products of sins. All the woes, for instance, of poverty are the results of selfishness, pride, ignorance, and vice. And it is the same with every other class of miseries.

“ The world in titanic immortality
Writhes beneath the burning mountain of its sins.”

Sin is the nethermost source of suffering. Had there been no sin, men’s lives would have glided on like the placid rivers that flow through the woodlands. They would have lived without strife or sorrow, grown old

without sadness or satiety, and died without a pang or a sigh. But alas! sin so abounds in the world that "there is not a just man that lives and sins not"; and it is a truth whose omnipresent jurisdiction can neither be avoided nor resisted, that every kind of sin, every offence against divine order, shall somewhere, at some time, be judged just as it deserves. He who denies this only betrays the ignorance which conceals from him a pervading law of inevitable application, only reveals the degradation and insensibility which do not allow him to be conscious of his own experience or to read intelligently the record of each day's life. A harmonious, happy existence depends on the practice of pure morals and communion with the love of God. This great idea, that the conscientious culture and obedience of the spiritual nature is the sole method of divine life, is equally a fundamental principle of the Gospel and a conclusion of observation and reason; upon the devout observance of it hinge the possibilities of true blessedness. The pursuit of an opposite course necessitates the opposite experience, makes its votary a restless, wretched slave, wishing for freedom but unable to obtain it.

The thought just stated, we maintain, strikes the keynote of the Christian Scriptures; and the voices of truth and nature, we repeat, accord with it. That Christianity declares sin to be the cause of spiritual death, in all the deep and wide meaning of the term, has been fully shown; that this is also a fact in the great order of things has been partially illustrated, but in justice to the subject should be urged in a more precise and adequate form. In the first place, there is a positive punishment flowing evidently from sin, consisting both in outward inflictions of suffering and disgrace through human laws and social customs, and in the private endurance of bodily and mental pains and of strange misgivings that load the soul with fear and anguish. Subjection to the animal nature in the obedience of unrighteousness sensibly tends to bring upon its victim a woful mass of positive ills, public and personal, to put him under the vile tyranny of devouring lusts, to induce death-like enervation and disease in his whole being, to pervade his consciousness with the wretched gnawings of remorse and shame, and the timorous, tormenting sense of guilt, discord, alienation, and condemnation.

In the second place, there is a negative punishment for impurity and wrong-doing, less gross and visible than the former, but equally real and much more to be dreaded. Sin snatches from a man the prerogatives of eternal life, by brutalizing and deadening his nature, sinking the spirit with its delicate delights in the body and its coarse satisfactions, making him insensible to his highest good and glory, lowering him in the scale of being away from God, shutting the gates of heaven against him, and leaving him to wallow in the mire. The *wages* of sin is misery, and its *gift* is a degradation which prevents any elevation to true happiness. These positive and negative retributions, however delayed or disguised, will come where they are deserved, and will not fail. Do a wrong deed from a bad motive, and though you fled on the pinions of the inconceivable lightning from one end of infinite space to the other, the fated penalty would chase you through eternity but that you should pay its debt; or rather, the penalty is grappling with you from within on the instant, — is a part of you.

Thirdly, if, by the searing of his conscience and absorption in the world, a sinner escapes for a season the penal consequences threatened in the law, and does not know how miserable he is, and thinks he is happy, yet let him remember that the remedial, restorative process through which he must pass, either in this life or in the next, involves a concentrated experience of expiatory pangs, as is shown both by the reason of the thing and by all relevant analogies. When the bad man awakes, as some time or other he will awake, to the infinite perfections and unalterable love of the Father whose holy commands he has trampled and whose kind invitations he has spurned, he will suffer agonies of remorseful sorrow but faintly shadowed in the bitterness of Peter's tears when his forgiving Master *looked* on him. Such is the common deadness of our consciences, that the vices of our corrupt characters are far from appearing to us as the terrific things they really are. Angels looking under the fleshly garment we wear, and seeing a falsehood or a sin assimilated as a portion of our being, turn away with such feeling as we should experience at beholding a leprous sore beneath the lifted ermine of a king. A well-taught Christian will not fail to contemplate physi-

cal death as a stupendous, awakening crisis, one of whose chief effects will be the opening to personal consciousness, in the most vivid manner, of all the realities of character, their relations towards things above and things below himself. And when this is done, surely there will be no need of arbitrary inflictions of vengeance or bestowments of approbation!

This thought leads us to a fourth and final consideration, more important than the previous. The tremendous fact, that all the inwrought elements and workings of our being are self-retributive, their own exceeding great and sufficient good or evil independent of external circumstances and sequences, is rarely appreciated. Men overlook it in their superficial search after associations, accompaniments, and effects. When all tangible punishments and rewards are wanting, all outward penalties and prizes fail, if we go a little deeper into the mysterious facts of experience we shall find that still goodness is rewarded and evil is punished, because "the mind is its own place, and can itself," if virtuous, "make a heaven of hell," if wicked, "a hell of heaven." It is a truth, springing from the very nature of God and his irreversible relations towards his creatures, that his united justice and love shall follow both holiness and iniquity now and ever, pouring his beneficence upon them to be converted by them into their food and bliss or into their bane and misery. There is, then, no essential need of adventitious accompaniments or results to justify and pay the good, or to condemn and torture the bad, here or hereafter. To be wise and pure and strong and noble is glory and blessedness enough in itself. To be ignorant and corrupt and mean and feeble is degradation and horror enough in itself. The one abides in true life, the other in moral death, and that is sufficient. Even now, in this world, therefore, the swift and diversified retributions of men's characters and lives are in them and upon them in various ways and to a much greater extent than they are accustomed to think. No good man will deny this, and no wise man can question it. History preaches it with all her solemn, revealing voices. Philosophy lays it bare, and points every finger at the flaming bond that binds innocence to peace, guilt to remorse. It is the very substance of the Gospel, emphatically and repeat-

edly pronounced and applied. And the clear experience of every sensitive soul confirms its truth, echoing through the silent corridors of the conscience the declarations which fell in ancient Judea from the lips of Jesus and the pen of Paul, "The pure in heart shall see God," — "The wages of sin is death."

We will briefly sum up the principal positions of the ground we have now traversed. That to be enslaved by the senses in the violation of the Divine laws, neglecting the mind and abusing the members, is to be dead to the goodness of God, the joys of virtue, and the hopes of heaven, and alive to guilt, anguish, and despair; — that to obey the will of God in love, keeping the body under, and cherishing a pure soul, is to be dead to the evil of the world, the goading of passions, and the fears of punishment, and alive to innocence, happiness, and faith; — that, according to the natural plan of things from the creation, the flesh was intended to fall into the ground, but the spirit to rise into heaven; — that suffering is the retributive result and accumulated merit of iniquity, while enjoyment is the gift of God, and the fruit of conformity to his law; — that to receive the instructions of Christ and obey them with the whole heart, walking after his example, is to be quickened from that deadly misery into this living blessedness; — that the inner life of truth and goodness thus revealed and proposed to men, its personal experience being once obtained, is an immortal possession, a conscious fount springing up unto eternity through the beneficent decree of the Father, to play for ever in the light of his smile and the shadow of his arm; — such are the great component elements of the Christian doctrine of sin and death, righteousness and eternal life.

Of course we are far from claiming for this article that it is a worthy discussion, or a full presentation, of the general subject of the eschatology of the New Testament. The adequate treatment of that entire theme implies three lines of investigation. The first is the pure declarations of Jesus himself. The second is the Pharisaic, and the distinctive, opinions of the Apostles. The third is the purpose, value, and consequences of the resurrection of Christ. We have here merely aimed to present and illustrate the interior essential meaning and agreement of their various doctrines.

W. R. A.

ART. VI. — POETRY.

THE LEIPSIC TOURNAMENT.

TRANSLATION OF AN OLD GERMAN BALLAD.

[" On the 24th of June, the Wittenbergers arrived ; the professors in low, open wagons, around them, on foot, some hundreds of zealous students armed with halberds, battle-axes, and spears. . . . The Duke ordered a spacious hall in the castle to be got ready for the literary duel ; two pulpits were placed opposite to each other, covered with tapestry, on which were the figures of the warrior-saints, St. George and St. Martin. . . . At length, on the 27th of June, the action was commenced with a mass and invocation of the Holy Ghost. . . . Carlstadt had insisted on his right of opening the debate, but he acquired little glory from it. . . . Eck was tall, with large, muscular limbs, and loud, penetrating voice. . . . On Monday, the 4th of July, at seven in the morning, Luther arose ; . . . he even, on this grave occasion, ascended the platform with a nosegay in his hand." — *Extracts from Ranke's History of the Reformation.*]

In Leipsic's famous city —
 In Leipsic's castle-hall —
 Are seen brave warriors mustering,
 With armed retainers all.

In march the Wittenbergers, —
 Their halberds bristling see !
 They mean around their master
 A storm-proof wall to be.

But he, — no lance he beareth,
 Nor sword nor spear doth wield, —
 The Word of God 's his weapon,
 The Spirit is his shield.

Hark ! sounds no blast of trumpets
 The signal to the fight ?
 No ! to the holy combat
 Sweet organ-tones invite.

Down on their knees all sinking,
 Their manly forms they bow ;
 They pray high Heaven to send them
 The Holy Spirit now.

"Come, dwell with us, thou worthy,
Thou holy Spirit of God!
Thou Comforter, who teachest
The path his Christ hath trod!

"O, give us wisdom's fulness,
And faith's exalted might,
The truth in love revealing
That worketh all things right!"

And now they all have risen, —
The lists wide open fly, —
The herald calls to combat:
Now battle manfully!

From yonder glittering phalanx
Forth stalks a champion proud,
Of giant frame, and piercing
His voice rings through the crowd: —

"Who dares with me to battle?
I fling my gauntlet down!"
One of the Wittembergers
Has dared to meet his frown.

They run at one another, —
Their swords flash to and fro, —
They cut and thrust and parry, —
Loud sounds the sturdy blow.

Yet neither strikes his foeman
Quite to the ground. — Come, thou,
The Wittemberger's master,
Out on th' arena now!

And, like the son of Jesse,
A young monk takes the field;
No lance has he nor helmet, —
He bears no sword nor shield.

But in his wallet bears he
Full many a goodly stone, —
So well he knows to sling them,
They crash through brass and bone.

He bears his cause so bravely, —
He fights so valiantly, —
The knights in that assembly
His deeds with terror see.

The blows, — they thicken round him,
And clip and clap they fall,
But from his frame as nimbly
They fly off, one and all.

“The master on his finger
A little ring doth wear,
And holds, by art of magic,
An evil spirit there!”

Thus through the knightly circle
Suspicious whispers fly:
“Come out, thou evil spirit!
Out from the ring!” they cry.

“The master hath a nosegay
He in his hand doth bear,
And holds, by art of magic,
An evil spirit there!”

“Come out, then, from the nosegay,
Foul fiend!” they cry once more; —
The ring and eke the nosegay
Are what they were before.

Now let me say, my masters!
It is not in the ring,
And as to imps in nosegays,
’T is all a foolish thing.

Know, when the Lord of Spirits
His servant aids in fight,
Then needs a noble warrior
No alien spirit’s might.

The Lord from heaven’s the spirit
That lends true strength, and He
Hath to our master given
Courage and victory.

THE LOSS OF THE ANIO.

FROM THE FRENCH OF LAMARTINE.

HERE had I mused and dreamed in days of yore,
Lulled by the sound of many a cascade’s roar,
Couched on the turf that Horace once had trod,
Shaded by old arcades that cool the sod,

And fanned by each fresh air that lightly creeps
 Where, 'neath her crumbling fane, the Sibyl sleeps ; —
 Had seen the torrent plunge through grove and cave,
 Where floating Iris sported on the wave,
 As the wind sports with the wild steed's white mane,
 That cuts the air upon the desert plain ; —
 Had seen it, farther on, all foam and froth,
 Spread o'er the moss its strips of smoking cloth,
 Expand, contract its flickering, watery nets,
 Fling o'er the turf its veil, in fitful jets,
 And, filling the ravine with din and dust of spray,
 In billowings of light pursue its distant way !

My eyes, all day, suspended on its waves,
 Pursued, o'ertook, then lost them in their graves,
 As when, from thought to thought, the baffled mind,
 Borne on, returns in vain their trace to find ;
 I saw them mount, roll on, vanish away, —
 I loved the dazzling of their brilliant play.
 Methought I saw the glory-streaming rays,
 The Eternal City wore in olden days,
 Back to their source ascend, through time's long night,
 And crown, once more, old Tibur's classic height ;
 And, listening the sublime, majestic sound
 Of waves that thundered down the vast profound,
 In those convulsions, murmurs, shouts that rolled,
 By echo multiplied a hundredfold,
 I seemed to hear, across the wastes of time,
 A mighty people's voice and step sublime,
 Who, like these waves, but more direct than they,
 Shook with their tramp these banks, and disappeared for aye,

O stream ! I cried, whose shores the early beam
 Of empire gilded and its evening gleam !
 Whose memory, by a humble freedman sung,
 In every age and clime hath found a tongue !
 Beside whose wave the world's oppressors sought
 Rest, in its murmurs, from tormenting thought,*
 Tibullus, in his love-lorn strains, complained,
 Scipio the rods of lictorship disdained,
 Cæsar sought refuge from the noise of fame,
 Mæcenus begged the poets for a name,
 Brutus nursed crime's, and Cato virtue's dream, —
 What dost thou say to me, thou myriad-voicèd stream ?

* It is an historical fact, that Mæcenus, in the latter part of his life, could not sleep excepting at Tibur, in the murmur of its cascades.

Tones from the lyre of Horace dost thou bring ?
 Or Cæsar's voice — now sternly menacing,
 Now soft with flattery — dost thou bid me hear ?
 Or with a stormy Forum stun my ear,
 Where a heroic, high-souled people, stirred
 And stung to frenzy by a tribune's word,
 And onward, like thy waves, in fury hurled,
 O'erleaped its narrow banks and whelmed the world ?

Ah no ! these sounds are gone, beyond recall !
 Field, forum, lyre, and love are silent all !
 'T is but a wave I hear, that sighs and weeps,
 'T is but thy plunge, down o'er the murmuring steeps !
 What say I ? Once they murmured, — but 't is o'er ;
 The bed is dry, — the stream is there no more !
 Each pendent rock, — each empty cave and cleft, —
 These trees, of all their liquid pearls bereft, —
 The bird, the wandering heifer and the hind,
 That on thy rocks no drop of moisture find, —
 Vainly they wait till the lost wave restore
 Life's music to the silent vale once more, —
 And, in their naked, lonely aspect, see !
 They seem to speak and say, " All 's vanity ! " . . .

Ah ! need we wonder that no empire stands ?
 That the works crumble of man's feeble hands ?
 When that which Nature's self had made for aye
 Must yield, like mortal things, to slow decay !
 When foaming streams, that ages saw roll by,
 Shrink all at once and leave their channels dry !
 A stream has vanished ! But these thrones of day,
 These giant mountains, too, shall pass away ;
 These heavens themselves, sowed with their shining sand, —
 Their lights all quenched, — a gloomy void shall stand ;
 Ay, space itself, one day, shall fade from mind,
 And leave, of all that was, no trace behind.

No trace of all that was ! But Thou, O Lord !
 Source of the worlds, whose everlasting Word
 Kindled yon flames on high in heaven that glow,
 Who bidd'st these earthly waters gush and flow,
 And days revolve on time's unresting pole,
 Thou — Thou shalt be, unchanged, when ages cease to roll !
 All these quenched orbs, these waters dried away,
 These hills, these worlds that crumble to decay,
 These ages laid in time's vast funeral urn,
 This time, itself, and space, expiring in their turn,

This power that mocks the forms its hand contrives, —
All render praise to Him who all survives,
And every mortal thing that ceased to be
Adds one more hymn to Thy Eternity !

Italia ! weep, ah ! weep thy hills that rise,
Where the world's history writ in ruins lies !
Where empire, as it passed from clime to clime,
Left the first impress of its march sublime !
Where glory, who thy name her emblem made,
Hath in a lustrous veil thy nakedness arrayed.
Behold, where thy most speaking relic lies !
Weep ! Pity's voice shall answer to thy cries !
O hallowed by thy fame and by thy fall,
Great source of nations, mother, queen of all !
Not those brave sons alone thy sorrows mourn,
Whom, in its loins, thy green old age hath borne ;
Thy foes, themselves, revere thy envied worth,
All greatness in thy shadow claims its birth !
The restless mind, that up the classic mount
Would climb to liberty's and glory's fount,
And the meek soul that, bathed in purer day,
Disdains ambition's gods and scorns their sway,
And takes a loftier flight and heavenward soars
To Him, the one, true God whom Faith adores, —
Both with full hearts, and many a bitter tear,
Thee " Mother " call and in thy dust revere !
The wind that scatters thy exposed remains
Insults thy glory and our grief profanes !
Each relic, by a Roman plough laid bare,
Exhales a great man's ghost upon the air ;
And at that lofty shrine, where sits above
The Christian's God, throned on the wreck of Jove,
There each who enters prays, and, praying, feels :
Thy house belongs to each who humbly kneels !

Each tree that on thy glorious ridges dies,
Each quarried rock, each urn that empty lies,
Each flower the share cuts down by old tomb-walls,
Each stone that from thy sacred ruins falls,
Sounds to the heart of nations like a crime, —
A blow more daring from the axe of Time !
And all that wrongs thy sovereign majesty
Seems to degrade ourselves as well as thee !
On thy misfortunes double reverence waits,
Thy name each heart, thy look each eye dilates !
Thy sun, for meaner eyes too dazzling-bright,
Seems to shed glory on thee with his light ;

And the white sail, that homeward skims thy seas,
 Whence once again it feels the soft land-breeze,
 And when thy great horizon it descries,
 Lifting and looming through the far blue skies,
 With trembling hails these images once more
 And drops, itself, on touching thy dear shore!

Ah! guard full long, thou widow of the nations!
 For the respect of coming generations,
 These mutilated titles of man's greatness,
 Found at thy feet in Rome's wide smouldering desolateness!
 All that is thine — thy very rags — hold dear!
 Nor, envious, look where brighter hopes appear!
 But, like great Cæsar, when his hour drew nigh,
 Folding his bloody mantle round, to die,
 Whate'er the future has in store for thee,
 Fold round thee, land, thy mighty memory!
 What matters it how empire's die is cast?
 There is no future that can match thy past!

IN MEMORY OF F. W. R.

[In her last days she requested that the only inscription on her gravestone might be her Christian name, her age, and the words, "Thou art not lost to us, but only gone before."]

BLEST thought! and, O, how sweet
 To hear thy spirit, from the heavenly shore,
 That strain of angel-music still repeat:
 "Not lost, but gone before!"

"Thou *art* not lost to us," and heaven has now
 One angel more!
 Death sealed it on thy cold, but radiant brow:
 "Not lost, but gone before!"

Lost! who could dream the thought,
 That saw the look thy dying features wore?
 That look, that heavenly smile, the truth has taught:
 "Not lost, but gone before!"

'T is not for thee, — O, not for thee we weep!
 But ah! with loneliness our hearts are sore,
 E'en while we read, where thy dear relics sleep:
 "Not lost, but gone before!"

"Not lost, but gone before,"
 An angel whispers where the record lies;

"Not lost, but gone before,"
A choir of angels answers from the skies.

Farewell, sweet spirit! May thy memory teach
Our trusting hearts to wait till time is o'er;
Then shall we, grateful, own, in angel-speech:
"Not lost, but gone before!"

C. T. B.

ART. VII.—EPIDEMIC MONOMANIA.*

M. CALMEIL'S book is well calculated to leave a sober impression upon the mind of the reader. With much labor, he has brought together from the original sources of information very ample accounts of those great epidemics which at various times have afflicted the race, and whose nature has been most grievously misunderstood. Viewing them in the light of modern science, he has unfolded many truths that may well be pondered by the present generation. We could scarcely expect, however, that such a book would be translated, and therefore, that the lesson may not be entirely lost on the English reader, we have thought it might profitably occupy a few of our pages. Without much reference to the order which M. Calmeil has pursued in his inquiries, we shall avail ourselves of the materials he has collected, for the purpose of exposing some of the most prominent points presented by the phenomena in question. In or-

* 1. *De la Folie considérée sous le Point de Vue Pathologique, Philosophique, Historique, et Judiciaire, depuis la Renaissance des Sciences en Europe jusqu'au Dix-neuvième Siècle; Description des grandes Epidémies de Délire simple ou compliqué, qui ont atteint les Populations d'autrefois et régné dans les Monastères. Exposé des Condamnations auxquelles la Folie reconnue a souvent donné lieu.* Par L. F. CALMEIL, Médecin de la Maison des Aliénés de Charenton, etc. [Insanity considered in its Pathological, Philosophical, Historical, and Judicial Relations, from the Revival of Learning in Europe until the Nineteenth Century; with a Description of those great Epidemic Monomanias, simple or complicated, which have attacked the People and prevailed in Monasteries, and an Account of the Executions to which Insanity misunderstood has frequently led. By L. F. CALMEIL, Physician to the Lunatic Hospital of Charenton.] 2 Vols. 8vo. Paris. 1845.

2. *Sketch of the Epidemic Religious Monomania which occurred in Sweden in the Years 1841 and 1842.* By S. HANBURY SMITH, M. D. [From the Ohio Medical and Surgical Journal.] Columbus, 1850.

der to measure our own progress, and know exactly where we stand, it is well occasionally to look over the old domain of error by the light of a clearer experience and a sounder philosophy. Because, in the first place, we are apt to forget those vagaries of the mind which, nevertheless, are capable of imparting to us many a useful lesson; and, secondly, because it will more deeply impress us with the fact, that, notwithstanding the novelty of some of the current notions of the day, their types may be found amid the discarded follies of former generations.

During the period which witnessed the revival of the human mind in Europe, it not unfrequently happened, in one place or another, that the ordinary course of men's habitudes and thoughts was varied by the intrusion of some singular combination of notions and practices which confounded the wisdom of the learned, enchained, as by a spell, the imagination of the ignorant, stimulated the darkest passions of the heart, and generally left behind a fearful experience of bloodshed and woe. During the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, epidemics of this kind were among the most common events, and their victims were scarcely outnumbered by those of war, pestilence, and famine. In France, in the single reign of Francis the First, it was estimated by a writer of the time, that a hundred thousand persons were executed for witchcraft, and the number still continued to be very large through the remainder of the sixteenth century. The neighboring countries were scarcely less afflicted, and the civil power was often aided by the more ardent efforts of the ecclesiastical, in checking the growing evil. Pope Adrian the Sixth, scandalized by the prevalence of sorcery in Lombardy, set the Dominicans upon the work of its extermination, and such was their zeal and energy in the congenial employment, that, for some dozen or fifteen years, they sent to the gibbet about a thousand persons annually, in the district of Como alone. In Spain, witches shared with heretics and Jews in the tender mercies of the Holy Office. Thirty women were burned in Calahorra in 1507. A few years later the prisons of Navarre were filled with women charged with sorcery, and at Estella one hundred and fifty received each two hundred stripes on their bare shoulders. At the same time

many were destroyed by the Inquisition, in Saragossa. Savoy was regarded as a great hot-bed of sorcery, and in the town of Valery alone, within a single year, eighty persons were consigned to the flames. In Switzerland, whole villages are said to have been depopulated. In Languedoc, four hundred were sent to the stake in the year 1577, nearly all of whom, says a distinguished professor of law, Gregoire of Toulouse, bore the mark of the Devil. In Lorraine, towards the end of the sixteenth century, nine hundred were put to death within a short period. During the next two centuries this particular form of the frenzy appears to have been less common, or, what is more likely, was less noticed, but the multitudes that swelled the ranks of the *Trembleurs* of Cevennes and the *Convulsionnaires* of St. Medard show that the evil had only changed its form. Its traces may be seen in many of the religious movements of a later day, and we are not quite sure that the world has seen the last of it, even in its most striking forms. Dr. Smith's paper makes us acquainted with one of these epidemics which broke out in 1841, in the province of Jönköping in Sweden, and soon numbered its victims by thousands.

Religion, instead of coming to the aid of man in these terrific emergencies with the light of a pure and rational faith, became his most implacable foe, and mental philosophy could find nothing, either in the speculations of Plato or the refinements of the schoolmen, that would furnish a solution of the fearful enigma. The saddest fact in these extraordinary movements is the ready ministry ever offered by the wise and learned of the time in fostering the superstition of the rude and vulgar masses. During the long period which witnessed these moral commotions, not a single commanding voice was heard to rebuke the spirit of credulity and cruelty which universally prevailed. Learned judges like Sir Matthew Hale, physicians as shrewd as Ambrose Paré, monarchs, popes, and theologians of every description, lent the sanction of their authority to the prevalent belief in witchcraft. Such anomalous departures from the ordinary forms of opinion and rules of conduct can never lose their interest with reflecting minds, and therefore we venture to extract a page or two from this dark chapter in the history of society.

Previous to the eighteenth century, an almost invariable feature of the moral epidemics in question was the idea of diabolical agency. It was perfectly consonant with the religious opinions of those times, that the Devil had a hand in whatever mischief was enacted, but the evidence of the senses also was never wanting. The eye, the ear, the touch, was cognizant of his presence, and in an age when rules of evidence were unknown, the testimony of one person was as good as another's. We now talk, indeed, of witchcraft as a melancholy delusion, but before it can yield its appropriate lessons as part of the moral history of the race, we must have more philosophical ideas than have usually prevailed respecting its curious phenomena; — the reappearance of certain notions and practices, at distant intervals and among remote people; that enthrallment of the senses that changed the creations of the imagination into stern realities; that reckless, joyful relinquishment of divine aid and human sympathy; and especially, the wild-fire rapidity with which the delusion spread from one to another, until whole districts submitted to its sway. The time has not yet come, perhaps, for explaining all the laws that governed this and other similar epidemics, but the progress of scientific and religious knowledge has given us some advantage in this respect over those who personally witnessed its effects.

It would be difficult to find the period since the Christian era, when men have not believed that the Devil is permitted to hold direct communication with certain individuals, for the purpose of converting them into instruments of his will and pleasure. There is a remarkable uniformity in the narratives of these persons respecting their intercourse with demoniac spirits, and the nature of the malign influences they were enabled to exert. In one way or another they were induced to attend the *Sabbath*, as it was called, or nocturnal assembly of witches and evil spirits, at which they took the oath of allegiance to the Devil, and were initiated into the various means and appliances for honoring their master and working evil to men. To this meeting, held in some obscure place, they rode through the air, on a buck, or a horse, or even a broomstick, their visible form or effigies being left behind. The presiding spirit of these assem-

blages was the Archenemy himself, who was generally represented as having the form of a large buck with the visage of a man, having three or four horns on his head, a long tail, huge claws on his feet, and a very ugly face. The first exercise of the *Sabbath* was to ascertain if all the company had the true Devil's mark, which was some discoloration of the skin, or mole, or wart, that a morbid imagination transformed into figures of a hare, toad, bat, or owl. They then sang, and paid their obeisance to the Devil; the children were baptized into the infernal faith; feasting began, and all manner of abominable orgies succeeded. Here, too, charms and incantations were prepared for working evil, mutual encouragement and instruction were given, and finally a cock crowed, and the assembly dispersed. These were the principal incidents of the *Sabbath*, and generally appeared in descriptions of this horrible meeting.

The purposes for which the demoniac influence was exerted embraced almost every form of mischief, physical and moral. It blasted the crops, poisoned the cattle, and scattered the seeds of disease in the house and barn. It raised storms and tempests, engulfed the reeling ship, and brought to naught the labors of man. Especially was it used to produce a state of bodily and mental torment in its victims, — racking pains, ulcers, convulsions, disquiet, blasphemy, and despair. Sometimes the injuries inflicted by its possessors were more definite and tangible. They disinterred the bodies of infants, and feasted upon their flesh, or converted it by a series of concoctions into a powerful unguent. In some cases they assumed the form of a wolf, or other wild beast, and in that guise attacked and devoured children. In others, they were contented to devote themselves entirely to the worship of the Devil.

The effects of the demoniac possession, as that state was called, in which a person was under the special and immediate influence of evil spirits or witches, assumed the form of every variety of suffering. The possessed were precipitated into wells and pits; thrown upon the ground, and, by force of violent convulsions, rolled into a ball, bent into a bow, or raised up in the air without any visible means. Their bodies were covered with bruises and other marks of injury, and racked with every

form of local pain. Superhuman efforts of strength were common, and the toughest cords were snapped asunder in their hands, and strong men were thrown down by the struggles of a delicate woman. Their discourse was filled with blasphemy and obscenity, and accusations against certain persons as the authors of their torments. The approach of those persons was invariably indicated by an aggravation of these torments, and by fresh paroxysms of agitation. Despair of the future and horrible suggestions crowded upon their minds, and, in connection with fasts and vigils, so consumed the energies and peace of the wretched sufferers, as to render death a desirable relief.

Almost every one of these epidemics, however, was distinguished by some feature peculiar to itself. In one, the possessed were constrained to climb the trees, and perambulate upon the house-tops. In another, they felt impelled to bark and howl like dogs; and in another, to mew like cats.

The possessed usually indicated the persons whom they regarded, upon the testimony of their own senses, as the authors of their sufferings. Generally, the accused, sooner or later, admitted the charge to the fullest extent, and described his communications with Satan with an air of satisfaction and delight, no expression of regret escaping from his lips, even at the gallows. It is remarkable, indeed, how seldom the proof derived from confession was wanting. Even they who most strongly protested their innocence at first, and were, unquestionably, the victims of private hostility, finally acknowledged their crime, and gloated over its disgusting details. In New England alone did they who were executed to the last refuse to confess, and such was the constancy of nineteen out of the twenty who suffered death.

Unquestionably, among the most efficient elements in the production of these affections were often popular error, credulity, and imposture, but neither any one, nor all of them together, will explain satisfactorily all their phenomena. M. Calmeil sees in them all the presence of insanity in some of its forms, and very happily supports his theory, by showing their analogy to other affections unquestionably mental. In some of them, at least, one cannot fail to recognize insanity in the narrow-

est acceptance of the term. A person who believes that, by the use of a certain ointment, he has transformed himself into a wolf, and thus preyed upon children, is obviously insane; and however strange it may seem now, we have only to consider the peculiar circumstances of any particular instance, in order to understand why the disease should have assumed precisely this form. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, *lycanthropy*, as this affection is called, prevailed in the district of Saint Claude in the Jura Mountains, the seat of an abbey since the fifth century. The people of this region, whose wretched condition excited the sympathies of Voltaire at a subsequent period, had always been, both in person and property, the serfs of the monks who bowed them to the earth with their burdens. Physically, morally, and intellectually, their condition was the lowest point of degradation. Subsisting on a meagre, insufficient diet, secluded from all intercourse with the people of other districts, and possessing no ideas not immediately connected with their pursuits but such as were tinged with the grossest superstition, they presented many cases of idiocy and imbecility, and but few that were many removes from the one or the other. It certainly is not surprising that insanity was a common disease among such people; nor, when an individual became insane, is it surprising that the mind, in its wanderings, ran upon those ideas which had most strongly impressed it while sane. They shared with the learned a belief in the power of Satan over mortals, while they listened with a kind of credulity exclusively their own to tales of diablerie and witchcraft, which divided the attention of their leisure moments with the rites and practices of religion. It was very natural, therefore, that, when the brain was excited to a morbid degree of activity, the predominant ideas should have been of this character, for they could not very well have been any thing else. Insanity made it an easy step from a belief in the possibility of lycanthropy to the conviction that one is himself transformed into a wolf. It was but converting the subjective into the objective, — a phenomenon that is seldom entirely absent in mental disease. The whole story of these persons — of their taking the form of beasts, of going on all fours, and seizing and preying

upon children — is a tissue of delusions, and it was but an additional delusion to believe, as many of them did, that they had interviews with the Devil in the shape of a buck, who provided them with means for exerting their brutal power. We have alluded particularly to this form of mental disease, merely because it furnishes, we apprehend, an apt illustration of the origin and character of much of the insanity of those times. In the phenomena of some other forms of demonomania, the presence of insanity is no less obvious. It cannot be doubted, that, by thousands and hundreds of thousands, it was believed that they had actually engaged in the mysteries of the witch *Sabbath*. This belief they avowed to the very last, and neither the stake nor the gibbet could induce them to deny it. This, of course, is unequivocal insanity.

Possession, too, exhibits many symptoms of insanity, which, misunderstood as they once were, are quite intelligible to the modern observer. After making all reasonable allowance for deception and imposture, as well as for certain abnormal conditions of the nervous system to be more particularly noticed hereafter, insanity, in the ordinary sense, gave rise to many of its phenomena. Under the circumstances of the time, the idea that any one could be completely subjected to the control of a superior spirit constantly prompting him to evil, might be merely an error of opinion; but to see this spirit clothed in the attributes of form and color, to hear his voice actually sounding aloud, to feel the touch of his fingers, and shudder with convulsive agitations at his approach, — what is this but hallucination or delusion of the baldest kind? The witches of Burbie in Germany, towards the end of the fifteenth century, who confessed that at their nocturnal assemblies they destroyed an infant and feasted on its flesh, and who sealed this confession with their blood, believed in a fact which was not pretended to be proved, easy as it was of proof. The pretended *anthropophagi*, or man-eaters, in the district of Vaud, towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, who filled the country with terror, and perished at the stake by scores, lived and died in the belief, which could be no other than the offspring of insanity, that they rendered formal homage to Satan, and implored his assist-

ance and protection; that, in the practice of their rites, they made an unguent by boiling down a new-born infant; and that by the use of this unguent they could move from place to place by invisible means. Were we writing a medical treatise, we should extend our illustrations of this point, but this will be sufficient for our present purpose.

Earnest as M. Calmeil is to establish his theory, that these epidemics are a form of insanity, he does not anticipate the objections that, with some plausibility, might be offered against it. We shall endeavor to supply this deficiency in some measure, because the discussion will furnish additional confirmation of the correctness of the theory. The laws of nature, it is said, do not change; phrenitis, pneumonia, gastritis, &c., present the same characteristics now, that they did to Hippocrates; consequently, since diseases do not change their character with time, and we see no *such* insanity now, we are forced to conclude that the phenomena in question had not a physical and pathological origin. The general principle here expressed is undoubtedly true, but an important fact is overlooked. Although insanity is a disease, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, a morbid affection of the cerebral organism, yet its mental manifestations must vary, not only with the mental circumstances of the individual, but also with the prevailing currents of opinion and feeling in society, and the character of the moral and intellectual culture of the times. Were it possible to have before us the "Case-books" of an insane hospital for the last four centuries, we should be able to trace, as strongly marked as on the page of history, those great social movements which, for good or for ill, have agitated the race. Insanity is not another name for confusion and chaos. It presents the night-side of the mind, so to speak, yet to the practised observer it reflects, with more or less clearness, the moral and social peculiarities of the country and the times. For instance, during the French Revolution and under the Empire, the police of France was made an engine of despotism more efficient than the world ever witnessed before. No one was too high or too humble to be beyond its reach, and the stoutest heart might quail before the thought of its all-pervading, invisible, resistless power. Accordingly, during this

period, a large proportion of the inmates of the lunatic hospitals of Paris exhibited their alienation in excessive and groundless fears of the police, but scarcely an instance of religious delusion could be found in those vast establishments, for alas! religion had disappeared from France. In this country, on the other hand, where religious exhortations furnish the principal, if not the only, pabulum of thought to a very large proportion of minds, a conviction of spiritual ruin, connected, perhaps, with the idea of having sinned away the day of grace, or committed the unpardonable offence, is now, and always has been, a common trait of insanity. In like manner, Millerism, Mesmerism, Antimasonry, gold-hunting, Abolitionism, have each left, in the records of our lunatic hospitals, enduring memorials.

Bearing these facts in mind, we shall have no difficulty in accounting for the former prevalence of demoniacal insanity, and its disappearance at the present time. The doctrine of Satanic agency in the affairs of men, though far from being regarded now, even by the learned, as an exploded error, is not very heartily embraced by any, and excites but little practical interest. In the more intelligent parts of Christendom, people have ceased to be frightened by those terrific images of the Devil, which were once thought necessary to deter the children of men from wandering in the paths of sin. Hence it happens, that, in our establishments for the insane, nothing is more rare than a patient whose predominant ideas are of a demoniacal character. In the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, the doctrine in question was a matter of active, thorough, and unhesitating belief. By the Church it was regarded as one of its strongest pillars, and the people found in it abundant materials for gratifying that love of the strange and the marvellous which always accompanies a deficient mental culture. Indeed, there was little else beyond the narrow circle of their daily avocations to kindle the fancy, or excite any activity of thought. In insulated districts especially, communities had but little intercourse or interchange of thoughts with one another; the simplest elements of knowledge were beyond their reach, and their only intellectual exercise was to listen to the exhortations of the priests, which were filled with appeals to the

lower sentiments of our nature. The fear of the Devil was one of them, and for ages it was a potent instrument for accomplishing their ends. He was represented as virtually sharing with God the direction of sublunary affairs, even to the hearts and souls of God's intelligent offspring; ever on the watch to take advantage of the slightest infirmity, as well as the gravest sin, in order to effect the ruin of the weak and erring mortal. In solitary paths, secluded woods, and deserted habitations, their fears conjured up his image in bodily shape, and what the visual organ failed to perceive was clearly visible to the keener conceptions of the inward senses. At the domestic fireside and in the social reunion, the manœuvres of the Devil and his associates were a prominent topic of discourse, which sunk into the minds of the young, seldom to be eradicated by the judgments of riper years. In the church and in the graveyard, in the field and the forest, in the house and the barn, the symbols of his power or presence met them at every turn, and called up a train of associations, grave or gay, horrible or ludicrous. In the dim twilight, in the silent night-watches, in the dreams of the fevered brain, did the mysterious presence assume, with remarkable distinctness, the form and lineaments of some earthly type. Under such tuition, through a course of many generations, the mind was prepared for those exhibitions of insanity, which to us, under a very different training, are so strange and unintelligible.

The proofs of insanity are no less striking in those extraordinary manifestations of the religious sentiment unconnected with demoniacal notions, which prevailed epidemically in Europe, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The predominant ideas were very different, certainly, from those we have been describing, in being far less foreign and repulsive to our better nature, but their pathological origin is too manifest to be easily overlooked. The peculiarities of the times sufficiently account for the change of type, to use a medical phrase, which the affection assumed. The religious reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries not only turned the attention of men into new channels of inquiry, but greatly enlarged their field of vision, and filled it with objects and aspects never contemplated be-

fore. The rule of the Church, for long ages as inflexible as the laws of nature, gave way, in some measure, to the rule of private judgment. The right thus suddenly acquired was exercised with none of that philosophical caution which, in a more enlightened age, guides the speculations of the least philosophical minds. Men rushed to its enjoyment with a reckless ardor, that disregarded the rules of logic, as well as the suggestions of a rational faith. The Bible, which had been a sealed book, was opened to all, but its contents were imbibed without any principle of discrimination, and consequently the aliment thus offered to the religious affections was not of the healthiest kind. People were not in the humor to trouble themselves with principles of exegesis, or to consider very closely the relative adaptedness of different portions of the Bible to the varying conditions of mankind. The Scriptures were searched, not for a rule of conduct for the steady improvement of the heart and life, but for new and extraordinary views of duty, and summary methods of vindicating the ways of God to man. They were prized, not as a source of consolation to the weary and broken spirit, but as an armory furnished with weapons of spiritual warfare. To the people of those days, the Sermon on the Mount had less attractions than the abstrusities of St. Paul. Hence, there arose a host of contending sects, with their usual train of doctrines and controversies. The themes on which they delighted to meditate and dispute were not unworthy of angels, it is true, but to the limited capacities of man, they could only foster that religious zeal which is the prolific parent of fanaticism. Between fanaticism and monomania the step is easy, and when taken, the mind wandered, not on the Devil and the torments he inflicted, but on the mysteries of revelation that had been hid from ages, on the divine gifts promised to the saints, on foreknowledge of the future, and special revelations vouchsafed from on high. Muncer, the Anabaptist, believed that God revealed to him his will, and commanded him to purge the Church. Hutter, another of the sect, boasted of holding personal communication with God, and always began his exhortations with a "Hear the word of the Lord; behold what the Eternal declares." A young girl cried aloud in the streets of Appenzel, "I am the Christ, the

true Messiah, the desired of nations." Of a similar character were the extravagances of the French *camisards*, who, when filled, as they imagined, with the Divine afflatus, saw the heavens opened, and hosts of angels standing before the throne of God, and heard their songs of praise and glory.

Demoniacal possession, however, did not at this period cease to characterize religious epidemics, for the doctrine of Satanic agency had not ceased to be an active element in the popular belief. It certainly had become less frequent, because in Protestant communities its dominion over the mind was shared by worthier sentiments, and its legitimate influence was counteracted by a higher culture and a purer faith. But the time had not arrived when such a notion could be held merely as a passive speculation. Occasions would happen, when, favored by the temper of the individual, the zeal of sect, or the peculiarities of the times, it would not be held in check, but assumed an ascendancy over every other article of faith, degrading the intelligent and aspiring Puritan of New England to the same level with the benighted and besotted Catholic peasant of Europe. Regarded as a matter of fact that admitted of no question, it nerved the arm of the religious reformers of the last two or three centuries, who felt that in their conflicts with sin and worldly allurements they had to deal with unearthly foes, whose existence was no less real to them than it had been to the believers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. To Luther, the idea that the Devil was fighting against him in the ranks of his adversaries was not a speculation, a conjecture; he saw him with the bodily eye, and drove him from his presence with carnal weapons. With a conviction stronger than any sense could supply, Wesley believed that, even in his most sacred ministries, the Devil was ever at his side, to perplex, to annoy, and confound him. Seward, the companion of Whitefield, says, "Satan is generally so busy with me in prayer, that my time is chiefly spent in keeping him off, so that I am often three hours about those intercessions which might otherwise be offered in one sixth of that space."* To the keen intellect of Jonathan Edwards,

* Journal of a Voyage from Savannah to Philadelphia.

the main difficulty in the conversion of sinners appeared to be the special and persevering agency of the Devil. On the occasion of one of those awakenings in which he was personally concerned, he declares, that "Satan raged dreadfully at Northampton."

It might seem, at first sight, as if the epidemical character of these disorders disproved our theory of their pathological origin, for the reason that no form of insanity is observed to prevail epidemically now. This fact, if strictly true, would scarcely weaken the proofs we possess, that it has so prevailed, and that too without our supposing any change in the laws of disease. Of course, nobody imagines that insanity under any form can be propagated, like ordinary epidemic diseases, either by some peculiar condition of the soil or atmosphere, or by emanations from those who are laboring under the disease. If propagated epidemically, it must have been by means of a power very different from these, — special in its character and clearly adequate to produce this remarkable result. This is no crotchet of ours. The existence of such a power has always been recognized, although its nature has never been very clearly understood, and its effects have been but imperfectly appreciated. The fathers of the healing art were satisfied with calling it *sympathy*, and the moderns have accepted the name, without attaching to it a more precise or comprehensive signification. It remains to be seen whether the present state of our knowledge respecting the origin and progress of disease, and especially of affections of the nervous system, will not enable us, if we please to use it, to form more precise notions in regard to the limits of its operation, and the particular conditions under which it is exercised. To show its agency in these disorders, the proper course would be, by proceeding from the known to the unknown, to trace the analogies that connect the obscure and doubtful with the clear and settled. It is easy enough to point out cases with which it has no connection, as well as others in which its presence may be witnessed by the dullest observer. No one would think of looking for it in a tertian fever or an abscess of the liver, and no one would overlook it sometimes in the spread of hysteria and its cognate affections. Indeed, the proposition broadly stated, that ner-

vous disorders are sometimes propagated by sympathy, or imitation, meets with universal assent. The difficulty is in regard to its application to particular cases, in consequence of our imperfect knowledge of the functions of the nervous system, and especially of prejudices in favor of preconceived opinions and fancies. As just intimated, correct views on this subject can be obtained only by collating a considerable number of instances illustrating different phases of the phenomena in question, and thus demonstrating to every candid mind the bond of affinity that unites them together. We have no intention of pursuing the inquiry here. Our limits forbid us to do more than adduce a few facts, not so much to establish any particular point, as to indicate the course which such an inquiry should take.

The simplest, but not the least remarkable, form of the power or law in question is that which affects single individuals, breaking down all the barriers erected by purity of character, intellectual attainments, and a disciplined judgment. The liability of the priests who were engaged in exorcising the possessed to become affected themselves, was well recognized in France, and they entered upon their professional duty with a strong conviction of their danger. In the early part of the seventeenth century, a convent of Ursuline nuns at Loudon became the scene of demoniacal possession on a large scale. As most of them belonged to noble families, and were highly cultivated and accomplished, they received the unstinted attentions of the clergy, many of whom were sent by the ecclesiastical authorities to render all possible aid, and endeavor, by means of all the weapons of spiritual warfare, to expel the demons from the persons and precincts of the afflicted sisterhood. Three of these exorcising priests, Fathers Lactantius, Surin, and Tranquil, became possessed by the very demons they tried to cast out, the first and the last dying raving maniacs, while the other, after several paroxysms, finally recovered. The fiends, which left Father Tranquil in his last moments, passed directly into Father Lucas, who was at the bedside of the dying priest. Among those who were accused by these nuns of contributing to their sufferings by demoniacal means was Urban Grandier, a priest in the village of Loudon, distinguished

by his mental accomplishments, by the grace of his manners and the comeliness of his person, and by some passages of gallantry, somewhat at variance with modern ideas of priestly propriety. For several months their accusations were scarcely heeded, but they were artfully directed from the first by those who had good reason to hate him; and when ready to fail, they contrived to secure the all-powerful aid of Cardinal Richelieu, of whom Grandier had made a mortal enemy by means of some satirical verses. Ecclesiastical suspicion was finally aroused, and judicial proceedings were ordered, but at a time when courts were creatures of the Church or state, the result could be easily foreseen. Neither his sacred office, nor his prominent position in society, nor all the graces of his mind or person, could save him from the stake; and we almost forget his vices in view of the propriety and steadiness which he displayed through every scene of his persecution, the calm but resolute assertion of his innocence, and especially of the heroic — we had almost said Christian — firmness with which he encountered the final torture. The sequel of this remarkable history strongly illustrates the pathological law we are considering. Father Lactantius above mentioned, who took an active part in the prosecution of Grandier, died thirty days after his victim. Mannouri, the surgeon, who testified that he found the Devil's marks on the body of Grandier, saw the ghost of the defunct priest constantly near him, until at last the perception became so vivid, that on one occasion he dropped to the ground in the excess of his terror, and died shortly after with the dreadful image before him. Chauvet, a civil officer who bore some part in the trial, but was no believer in Grandier's guilt, was accused by one of the possessed, and in consequence fell into a state of intense melancholy, from which he never recovered.

In cases like these, we may have no difficulty in perceiving the successive steps which led to the final result. The priestly adversaries of the Enemy entered upon the conflict vividly impressed with its difficulties and dangers. The honor of the Church and their own reputation were at stake, and upon them it depended whether the powers of hell were to achieve a signal triumph over man, or be driven back, in shame and confusion, to their

own abodes. One all-absorbing idea occupied their minds, — they found themselves in close communication with the powers of darkness. With the bodily ear they heard the words of cursing and wrath, uttered by the mouths of the miserable sufferers, and could almost feel the hot breath of the demon scorching their own faces. The cries, convulsions, and agitations of the possessed were before them during the most of their waking moments, and left an impression that only became more vivid in the hours of sleep. Under such unusual trials of the physical and mental powers, protracted for months together, there arose a morbid irritability of the brain, which, by successive stages of excitement, finally passed into that pathological condition which is manifested by hallucinations, delusions, and raving mania. Even without these peculiar accessory circumstances, the professional observer not unfrequently sees a similar effect produced by the intimate association of the sane with the insane.

In that form of demoniacal possession in which multitudes of people were simultaneously affected, as well as in many other epidemic monomanias, the operation of the influence in question is not so intelligible, perhaps, as in that just considered. In the latter, we see an imagination glowing with religious fervor, and heated by strange and unusual impressions, and physical powers exhausted by prolonged exercises of watching, fasting, and prayer; and in these conditions we easily perceive sufficient causes for the reception of a disorder with which the individual is in close proximity. In the masses affected by the epidemical form, on the contrary, the reflective powers are too dull and sluggish to be injured by undue exercise, and the imagination is not readily kindled by any subjective excitements. The agency of the principle, however, is no less certain, although it may operate in a little different manner. We shall find that, in both cases, the essential elements are the same, — a new strange and striking idea, with momentous bearings upon the welfare of the individual, a mind unfitted by liberal culture to penetrate beneath the false glosses of superstition and credulity, painful anxiety and apprehension of consequences, loss of sleep and interruption of the usual habits of regimen, with counsel and management more calculated to aggravate the evil than to abate it.

To this view of the subject there is an obvious objection, an answer to which will lead us to the most efficient agent in the production of these epidemics. The propagation of mental delusions from one to another is a phenomenon so analogous to the propagation of opinions in sound men, that we find in it nothing apparently impossible; but the propagation of physical disorders principally and primarily by the medium of mental agencies, is a doctrine not so readily assented to by those who are but little versed in this class of inquiries. The principle of sympathy has a greater share in the production of bodily disorders than is suspected by the world at large, or even by most medical men. The fact of such an agency may be assented to in general terms, and its presence may be recognized in isolated cases, while they fail to see in it the most efficient cause of those physical commotions which characterized some of the epidemics we are considering. An enlightened and unprejudiced inquiry into the nature of those movements can lead to no doubtful conclusions on the subject. Irregular actions of the muscular system, to choose an instance as easily understood as any, are manifested in almost every epidemic having a mental origin. The muscles are but the servants of the will, receiving its messages through the medium of the nervous system. It is not strange, therefore, that abnormal muscular action should often follow an abnormal condition of the will, or, in other words, of the mental faculties. Other pathological conditions may be necessary, and, no doubt, often are present, to produce the most striking manifestations of the effect in question, but are not essential to its simpler forms. In ordinary insanity, there is often a remarkable development of muscular power, but in these epidemics the muscular system is the seat of the most disorderly motions, — contortions, spasms, leaping, and rigidity. When this feature appears in connection with the more obvious forms of hysteria, no one misunderstands its true character, and it hardly required the sagacity of a Boerhaave to arrest the progress of an hysterical epidemic in a school at Haerlem, by threatening to brand with a hot iron the next one who should be attacked. The slightest examination of this feature, as it is presented in connection with various forms of mental epidemics, will show us that it is always

essentially the same thing. In the *possession* of the nuns of Loudon and of Louviers, the muscular contortions were so severe, that the body was often bent backward into a perfect circle, the head touching the heel. In the convulsionaries of St. Medard, this was the principal feature of their affection, and at the tomb of the Abbé de Paris, the Jansenist, was opened a new leaf in the history of nervous affections. For four years the marble that covered the remains of the venerated deacon was supposed to shed abroad a healing influence upon those who laid down upon its surface, when at last a person in this position was suddenly attacked by convulsions; and from that moment, during a period of ten years, nearly every one of the individuals, amounting to some thousands, who touched the marble, was affected in a similar way. The irregular action was manifested by the most wonderful contortions of the neck, shoulders, and limbs, and, in many instances, of limbs that had been paralyzed for years, while the pulsations of the heart were quickened, and loud cries and other expressions of pain indicated the violence of the emotions. Fearful and painful as the affection was, it was courted for the sake of the bodily or spiritual benefit supposed to flow from it, and the cemetery of St. Medard was crowded with pilgrims from all directions, waiting their turn to lie down upon the tomb, and yield themselves to the strange commotion that shook their frame. No one was proof against its influence, which reached every description of persons, — professed devotees, sceptics, idlers, Jesuits; the halt, the lame, the blind, and children of tender years.

The great awakenings produced by the early Methodists were strongly marked by irregular action of the muscular system. An eyewitness of one of them, whose narrative is quoted by Wesley, says: —

“Great numbers wept without any noise; others fell down as dead; some sinking in silence; some with extreme noise and violent agitation. I stood on the pew-seat, as did a young man in the opposite pew, an able-bodied, fresh, healthy countryman: but in a moment, while he seemed to think of nothing less, down he dropped with a violence inconceivable. The adjoining pews seemed to shake with his fall. I heard afterwards the stamping of his feet, ready to break the boards, as he lay in strong con-

vulsions at the bottom of his pew." Another "fell backward to the wall, then forward on his knees, wringing his hands, and roaring like a bull. His face, at first, turned quite red, then almost black. He rose and ran against the wall. . . . The violent struggling of many has broken several pews and benches. Yet it is common for people to remain unaffected there, and afterwards to drop down in their way home. Some have been found lying as dead on the road. . . . Among the children who felt the arrows of the Almighty, I saw a sturdy boy about eight years old, who roared above his fellows, and seemed in his agony to struggle with the strength of a grown man."

The celebrated awakening in Kentucky, in the year 1800, was marked by the same phenomenon:—

"At the Cane Ridge Sacrament," says one account, "not less than one thousand persons fell prostrate to the ground. . . . Immediately before they become totally powerless, they are seized with a general tremor. . . . In some instances their hands and feet become cold, and their pulse and breath, and all the symptoms of life, forsake them for nearly an hour. . . . Persons have fallen on their way home from public worship, and sometimes after their arrival. In some cases they have fallen when pursuing their common business on their farms, or when they had retired for private devotion."

It would be unnecessary to multiply examples. These sufficiently establish the general proposition, that strong mental emotions, whether confined to individuals, or spreading through a multitude, are liable to be accompanied by irregular action of the muscular system. The same may also be shown to be true, in regard to other physical symptoms. Thus is removed what we apprehend to be the main objection to the pathological character of these epidemics, as well as to our theory of the principle of their propagation. A broader view of the subject is necessary, in order to arrive at a proper appreciation of the agency of this principle in directing the course of human affairs. Its influence, under normal circumstances, has been abundantly recognized:—

"As bodily affections seem to be in certain cases contagious," says Dugald Stewart, "where they are altogether unaccompanied by any mental passion or emotion, so, on the other hand, the passions and emotions felt, or supposed to be felt, by one individual, have a tendency to spread among his companions, even without the intervention of any external expression manifested

in the appearance. When the feelings of a crowd are in unison, or conceived to be in unison, from the operation of some common cause, and when at the same time these feelings begin, in a few individuals, to manifest themselves by strong bodily agitations, the effect is likely to be incalculably great; the mind at once acting on the body, and the body reacting on the mind, while the influence of each is manifested by the inexplicable contagion of sympathetic imitation."

The main facts, then, of the existence of this principle of sympathy as an essential attribute of our constitution, and of its agency in propagating nervous affections, may be regarded as established. It is very probable, however, that we are not yet fully acquainted with all the forms or modes of its operation, and it may one day appear that it really bears a part in many of those phenomena that now puzzle the candid observer. When we see the will of one person apparently controlling the will of another, and the consciousness of one become the consciousness of another, without any visible interchange of thought, we have reason to believe that the agency of this principle might be discovered under an intelligent investigation. It is not to be believed that it causes the secrets of man or nature to be revealed, or adds a single new fact to our knowledge, but we may suppose that, by its help, the predominant thought, the restless desire, may be discerned, even while they remain in the inmost chambers of the soul. When an impassioned speaker is addressing an assemblage of persons deeply interested in his discourse, each one becomes as conscious of certain thoughts and emotions in the mind of his neighbors, as if they were proclaimed in audible tones. This fact is familiar to every body, but it is doubtful whether it differs essentially from many other facts that seem, at first sight, to be of an entirely anomalous character. After making every reasonable allowance for deception and credulity, we are disposed to believe that there is really, under some circumstances, a more intimate communion of mind with mind than the philosophy of our times is willing to admit. The kind of observation proper for establishing this fact is yet to be made,—an observation equally remote from that blind acquiescence which sees just what others wish it to see, and from that unyielding scepticism which refuses to see what it has not seen before.

In its moral, religious, and political bearings, this law of sympathy is one of immense importance. We have seen the tremendous mischief that has frequently resulted from its abuse. If, in times of darkness and superstition, its power has been so fearfully developed for evil, what an amount of good might we not expect from it when managed with intelligence and directed into healthy channels. Its efficiency has always been practically recognized by the leaders of popular movements, especially those of a questionable moral complexion, and the fact will sufficiently explain results that cannot be attributed to argument nor to a stronger love of the right and the true. To despise its aid, therefore, in a good cause, would be only to show that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light."

J. R.

ART. VIII. — JANE BOUVERIE.*

It may seem strange that a work so simple and unpretending as this should be selected from among so many competitors for special notice. It has not dashed among us with a mysterious "Jane Eyre" power, to compel instant attention and provoke hot discussion. Our choice of it as a theme of remark has been wholly voluntary. The high-pressure system is carried so completely into all the dealings of man, woman, and child, — alas! — and that which hurries, excites, stirs up from the depths, and takes by storm, has so monopolized the interest of society, that it requires some courage to hope that a quiet whisper about quiet things shall be heard.

And yet the deep current of quiet things, unfathomably deep, is running on for ever beneath the tremendous surface-billows of life; and therein dwell innumerable souls. These souls come from a different realm, pass through this, and vanish into another, having nothing to do with the bustle, the notoriety, the great sayings, writ-

* *Jane Bouverie; or Prosperity and Adversity.* By CATHERINE SINCLAIR, Author of "Sir Edward Graham," "Holiday House," "Modern Society," &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 234.

ings, and doings of the world through which they make their obscure transit; and yet these have an existence as whole, and are as complete souls, as any that have ever worn the robe of flesh. There may be much power and beauty in them, to be found only by those who seek, or there may be little; but at all events their characters are as much characters in the eye of Him who sent them, their destiny is as mysterious and important, as those of the gowned philosopher, the trumpeted warrior, or the diamond-crowned queen.

We think that those have gained much, who have learned to look into still waters and humble nooks in their search after good. We would gladly direct the young to find social enjoyment in domestic life, literary satisfaction in works that do not violently excite, joys of the heart in affection rather than in passion, and religion in steady disinterestedness and spiritual growth, which is always silent.

Works of genius are sure of comment enough. Abundance of readers, with and without genius, will be sure to find them out, and get either good or evil from them. But many a noble, beautiful, practical sentiment finds its way quietly into the world, and quietly dies out, like a spark dropped among the dewy grass. A modest popularity, perhaps, "two thousand copies sold in a year," with "a call for a second edition," of which our meek author speaks with apparent satisfaction, may have been more than the allotted modicum of renown for many a book, which would do good to thousands if it did but come in their way and secure their attention. A true-hearted author, could he but be sure that he had written that which would make his readers better, might well cry, "Give me circulation rather than admiration! those who will peruse earnestly, rather than those who will praise loudly." Would that the circulation did not depend so much on the admiration!

Not loudly, but sincerely, would we praise "*Jane Bouverie*," and recommend it especially to that now immense portion of the reading public, woman. What were the literary tastes and occupations of Matilda, the pattern wife of that bad man, William the Conqueror, or whether she could read at all, we are not prepared to say; her needle exploits on the Bayeux tapestry being better remembered

by us. But in these days, the most inveterate worker in Berlin wools who undertakes to furnish her own boudoir still finds time to scan more books, including periodicals, than all the monks in England could have transcribed in one year of Matilda's reign. What she reads, and for what purpose, are serious questions.

"Jane Bouverie" has "little story and less plot," to speak in the style of reviewers who flourished when reviewers were critics. It had one decided attraction for us in the outset; for it purports to be the autobiography of an old maid. The heroine actually lives through a long life, and dies unmarried. The author has ventured to take one step towards the course we have long desired to see carried through, the direct and successful introduction into literature of fictions, in which love and marriage shall not constitute the chief interest. "Jane Bouverie" is the youngest of a family, consisting of several sons and daughters. Her parents occupy one of the most undesirable positions in society, being the poor relations of wealthy and aristocratic personages. But having very rational ideas of the true sources of happiness, they do not belong to the tribe of "poor relations" so admirably described by a modern satirist. They maintain their independence by shunning the jewelled circles and pompous boards where they could only be admitted by condescending courtesy, and they bring up their children in simplicity and peace. Unfortunately, a proud, self-willed, opulent grandfather is struck with the marvellous loveliness of Jane's two elder sisters; her father becomes embarrassed in his circumstances, and is compelled to yield to the gracious intentions of the old man, who summons the family to forsake their charming country home for London, and sends the two beauties to Paris for their education; a fate which our heroine narrowly escapes, through the entreaties of her judicious mother. The nobleman, however, disposes of his grandsons also to his satisfaction, and Jane alone remains at home with her parents. Her brothers and sisters have not enough of good sense and Christian principle to withstand the worldly influences among which they are thrown. The eldest daughter marries solely for money, and becomes utterly selfish and heartless. The second does rather better, but is estranged from the attractions of the pa-

rental home. The brothers, too, are whirling along in the great world. The mother dies, and Jane devotes herself to the care of her solitary father. Her devotion is not quite so exclusive, her abstinence from the frivolities of the gay world not so entire, as would have be-seemed a genuine, thoroughly Christian heroine in similar circumstances. Still it is a beautiful and natural picture of filial piety and self-sacrifice; and we believe that in the by-paths of life many an original might be found for it.

But a heroine without lovers! that would never do. Jane Bouverie, like the Evelinas and Belindas of the old school, must reject several, must prefer one, must fall actually in love, must suffer terribly in consequence of a crossed attachment, and the reader must be edified with a few lover's speeches, which each girl of fifteen will peruse with more curiosity than any thing else in the book, wondering if the like will ever be addressed to her. We suppose it was necessary that in some form these adventures should be introduced, to set our heroine's principles, strength of character, and spirit of self-sacrifice in the strongest light; — and necessary, also, in order that another intimation might be conveyed. Our author's pride of sex, like that of every true woman, undoubtedly has been often roused by the common supposition, that, if a woman lives single, it is because no man has ever asked her to wear the orange-blossom for him. She has sympathy with the three venerable sisters who used to declare, "*We* might have married, for our Susan had an offer." It is to be understood that every spinster has had a chance to marry at some time or other. And so Jane Bouverie refuses very eligible opportunities, and lives on with her good old father till he dies, as much of an Antigone as modern life and London society will permit.

After his death, her state of mind and occupations are beautifully described; and yet we fear the impression left on the mind of the young female reader will be rather a sad one. We think the loneliness need not have been thrown so much into the foreground of the picture. Its shadows might have been relieved by brighter gleams of religious cheerfulness and active usefulness, which would have added much to the wholesome influence of

the book. We need antidotes everywhere to the dangerous, all-prevailing idea, creeping insidiously into young hearts, that *woman must marry*, or not fulfil her destiny, not claim that place in God's creation and man's respect which her nature deserves and craves, not be as happy here as earthly imperfection will admit.

A dangerous idea we call it emphatically, for out of it, we are satisfied, spring hasty, half-reluctant, ill-assorted marriages, unhappy celibacies, and even sins and sorrows of deeper dye. Many an inexperienced young creature thinks she is innocently on the way to that mysterious, holy, happy land of matrimony, which she hears so glowingly described, all of whose inhabitants seem to stand on a somewhat more exalted ground than their sisters, — and under this delusion she falls. Let the courts of justice testify to this, with the stress they justly lay on that item of evidence, "under promise of marriage."

There is a point touched upon in the twenty-second page, which has a good deal of practical bearing in our own community. Jane beguiles her solitude and redeems her time by active beneficence, until she finds herself the victim of so many impositions, that she prudently subscribes to the best charitable societies, and intrusts the rest of her almsgiving to her pastor. This is a generous and wise course. Charitable societies could not exist unless many adopted it to some extent; and as few individuals have so many applications for pecuniary aid as clergymen, whose incomes seldom increase with their increasing expenses, it would seem good that they should sometimes be the almoners of the wealthy. "But," she adds, "thus benevolence, as a source of occupation, for my time and feelings, was no more." This is a great evil.

Those whose professional duties or family cares engross all their time, may be excused for doing good only by proxy. But we know that benevolent pursuits do but half their work upon the recipients of the charity; the "twice-blessed quality" of mercy being proverbial even to triteness. He that uses his time and engages his feelings in such work has the best opportunity of growing daily better himself. It may be advisable that those who find themselves inexperienced, credulous, and impulsive, liable to waste money on the artful and to in-

crease the amount of imposition, should connect themselves with the charitable operations of well-regulated societies or individuals. Acting in concert with others promotes humility, disciplines the temper, and detects selfishness. They should put themselves to school, as it were; striving to gain experience and discretion. But they should never relax in personal effort of some kind. They should see and hear the poor; they should give them some of that great commodity, time; they should bestow on them kind words and looks of sympathy; they should seek to understand their position, their capacities, their temptations, as well as their wants. The rich and poor must be "brought together" here, as well as in the grave, and to accomplish this in some degree is especially a privilege of the *Jane Bouveries* of society.

Our approbation of "*Jane Bouverie*" is of course not unmingled. But if so large a portion of womankind must and will read novels, — and alas! they will till the Millennium, we fear! — we consider *Jane Bouverie* nearly unexceptionable. Its literary faults lie on the surface. The conversations are singularly stiff and artificial, sometimes regular forensics. And if it were a genuine autobiography, we should say that the heroine's consciousness of her own excellences neutralized every charm in her character; but then we remember she is only the creature of imagination, and so, at the expense of having all the brief illusion destroyed, we are satisfied. But we should think this result would hardly satisfy the author.

And now we will speak of what is to us the great delight and merit of the book. Unobtrusively, but distinctly, throughout the whole volume, the religious principle is recognized as the only source of all that is right or happy, the only controlling power to be acknowledged by the human heart. There is no declamation, no cant on the subject, any more than there is in the actual life and conversation of a modest, pious woman; but we feel the influence of the presence of such faith, while reading this book, as we do while holding daily intercourse with such an individual. It is quiet, but strong and beautiful. It is purifying and elevating.

The secondary charm of the book is, that it is full of excellent thoughts, scattered through its pages in such a way that the most careless must step upon them, stop

to pick them up, and look at them. They are not mere flowers of rhetoric, or hard gems of metaphysical wisdom; but beautiful moral truths, such as concern everyday life in its connection with the world to come. To common minds they will be suggestive, and that is what common minds need. It is not to the scholar or philosopher that we recommend the work.

We will give a few specimens of such passages : —

“God gives us the sunshine, and man himself causes the shade. If all would live to make the very best they can of such materials as are given for rendering themselves happy, and conscientiously endeavor, at the same time, to make every individual around them equally so, — to feel answerable if any one with whom they are associated for a single hour has been rendered less happy during that hour than he might have been, — how much better would all be fitted for that world where mutual goodwill shall universally reign ! ” — p. 31.

“After he had himself departed this life, he wished to be remembered and talked of by us all, as an absent but still attached friend, rejoicing in our joys and sorrowing in our sorrow. He truly remarked, that if it be an object with those who live for the public to gain public fame, there is also a domestic fame due to those who have deserved our affectionate remembrance, — not the morbid feeling fit only for a heathen, that shuns the very name of those who are gone, but that Christian remembrance which associates the past with the future, and can speak of the dead.” — p. 95.

“It should be a frequent question of those who gain the affections, even if it be merely the friendship of another, ‘Is he the happier for having loved me?’ ” — p. 128.

“The world becomes perfectly delirious in its ideas of what any individual can do, ought to do, and, in short, must do, with a million of money. Sir Adam is beset with poor relations, distressed artists, unsuccessful authors, deserving families, public charities, and private schemes. Every man who has a hobby hopes to mount him on it, and thinks himself ill-used if Sir Adam hesitates to undertake the whole expense. Those who are least capable themselves of a generous action give out by far the most generous notions for others. If each person might dictate how his neighbor’s income might be expended, this world would become a scene of universal benevolence: but the meanest minds, comparing their own mere theories with the practical liberality of others, live in the mistaken conviction that with the same income they would do as well or better. The shabbiest

people are the readiest to say, when any generous action is mentioned as done by another, 'That is the least he could do.' " — p. 137.

We suppose few have had experience in soliciting subscriptions for benevolent purposes without having had reason to indorse these assertions. It is true, the same experience will corroborate the statement made in the words which follow.

"How seldom do the wealthy give of their abundance in any proportion to what the poor give of their penury! The poor, in distributing money, give what they require for the necessities of life, and the rich only part with what would be required for mere luxuries. If the rich gave away as much of their means as, on their very smallest of fortunes, the poor do, there would be donations that might fill every mind with astonishment and every newspaper with panegyrics." — p. 221.

But, after all, many who are too noble-minded to envy the affluent do judge them harshly. It is well that those who are destined to the unwelcome compliment of being always requested to *head* subscription-papers do not live at one end of a whispering-gallery, with all who choose to comment on their proceedings swarming and buzzing at the other. The unfortunate Rothschilds would dream of stings rather than honey. A true independence, a clear conscience, satisfied that God, to whom alone account is to be rendered for the employment of the *uncommon means of usefulness* he has granted, — for that is the only aspect which wealth can wear to a Christian, — satisfied that God approves, would be able to bear all this injustice calmly. Sometimes the effect of such knowledge might be salutary. An amiable, pious heart it would not irritate, but would simply rouse to more strict investigation of itself and the deeds which have proceeded from it. "Have I really done all that I should? Could I not have done more? Am I sufficiently warm-hearted and impulsive? Can I not cultivate to advantage this part of my nature? Is not my giving too much a matter of mere duty and principle? Am I not apt to ask myself how much *ought* I to give, rather than how much *may* I give? Am I not too much afraid of dealing with large sums? Cannot I attain, through devout study of Christ, a more glowing piety, and conse-

quently a more fervent benevolence?" Such would be the queries springing up in some well-disciplined mind, on hearing that neighbor So-and-so had said, "O, if that gentleman has only given one hundred dollars, I ought to give only ten. I am sure that would be a fair proportion. I am really surprised at him, with his means. I had intended to give more, and I am sure *he* might, and never miss it."

But where one heart would receive the report of such remarks with quiet humility and self-examination, many really good ones would be wounded, pained, and discouraged; and many more would feel unwisely, wrongly indignant. They would make as little allowance for the point of view from which their fellow-creatures must look, as others do for theirs; their benevolence would be cooled, their feelings soured; they would be lost in that cold, impenetrable, hopeless fog, which springs from nothing more surely than from mutual injustice. Unaccustomed to examine their own motives and seek the highest, they would probably be thrown rudely from the ladder of good deeds on which they had begun to mount into a higher and purer region of influences. For we believe that, if people actually do good to their fellow-mortals, even though they begin with somewhat low and mixed inducements, the probability is that they will rise to a capacity of nobler ones. Christ stretches out his hand to draw those whose faces are but turned towards him, though they are unconscious of his near presence.

For the furtherance of general justice, we almost wish, sometimes, that the sunshine might strike upon the thousand little rills of beneficence trickling secretly from the rich to the poor. We fancy the amount of pecuniary aid tendered privately by many wealthy individuals to their needy fellow-creatures would astound and silence many a caviller, who knows nothing of the poor relations, the distant dependants, the unseen lookers-up to the kind hand that scatters help, as the Pope dispenses his benediction from his lofty balcony upon souls who have nothing in common save their reliance on him. We have seen these refreshing rills winding in all directions from one deep, pure fountain of goodness; and the flowers of gratitude that sprung up along their borders were such humble violets that the world marked them

not, crying continually, "Why have we not a *river* from such a source?" The wreath of those violets will not be woven except by the disembodied, nor worn except in the land where there shall be no sun nor moon; but will they ever fade?

On the fifty-eighth page of the volume in our hands, we find an idea well presented, which is little acted upon in our choice of society:—

"If I sit next a clever man at dinner, his richly endowed mind endows mine, he shares his store with me, and my intellect gains something; but sitting beside a man worth a million of money, there is not the slightest chance that a thousand pounds can find its way from his purse into mine; therefore I measure the value of an acquaintance much more by the depth of his mind than by the depth of his pocket."

We had thought of other quotations, but we trust that Jane Bouverie's acquaintance may become so numerous that she will have ample opportunity to speak for herself. One or two passages we select in a spirit of contradiction, because we cannot often let a sentiment we deem false pass unchallenged in a book we recommend. In the preface, our author quotes with adoption these words from a "great divine," we know not who:—"All outward demonstrations of feeling show, not the greatness of the feeling, but the smallness of the mind." This seems to us too sweeping to be fair. The world is little enough inclined to take temperament into its consideration of such matters; and here lies a root of immense, incessant injustice. We ought not to bring temperament forward triumphantly or apologetically, as sufficient justification of any thing in our *own* conduct and characters,—not even before the tribunal in our own souls, where sophistry ever stands ready pleader,—because temperament is given us as the means of our probation; oftentimes, the very thing through which our peculiar temptations are to come, and against which it is our peculiar duty to struggle unceasingly,—it may be through a long life. But we are bound to consider temperament in judging our fellow-beings, at least so far as to suspend judgment where we are ignorant of the nature and power of this mighty underlying influence in our neighbor's moral and physical constitution. To overlook it is almost as bad as

to forget that the precocious little pickpocket, in the constable's grasp, was taught to steal by his mother, and was never taught any thing better.

That we cannot measure the depth and sincerity of feeling by external manifestation is certain. We see an individual silently enduring an outbreak of sudden, insulting passion from another, yet we cannot guess what unforgiving, unforgetting sense of injury may be smothered in the heart of that silent one, to outlast the brief ebullition of the assailant's temper. But it is a rule which works both ways. In cases of grief, for instance, we have no more right to deem the feeling exaggerated, or to undervalue the intellect, when we witness expression more vehement than our own natures prompt, than to take the opposite position. We like in all cases to adopt rather the spirit of the following passage, viewing charitably those who seem cold, and reserving a similar charity for those who appear extravagant: — "Where sorrow is genuine, the presence of any stranger may almost be said to act as a strait waistcoat, in preventing all external demonstrations." We know of no occasions on which comments are more hasty, ignorant, and unjust than in reference to the behavior of the bereaved. To grieve too deeply or too long, or to wear a more prompt and cheerful resignation than is intelligible to the observer, appears to be equally fair game for flippant censure. Cannot man be left to the God who is visibly dealing with his heart?

Jane Bouverie says, — "Over me Eliza had always of course exercised the tyranny which elder brothers and sisters will maintain over their juniors to the end of time." We read this passage twice before we could believe that such an excellent, sensible writer could have so expressed herself. It must have been in a careless or wayward mood, such as may sometimes beset even a saint; but we should have thought her too much of a saint to let such an expression go its way among sinners. We think we could bring forward an army of loving, grateful junior brothers and sisters, to protest against the sweeping injustice of the passage.

And now we conclude with a single extract more, which we think may suggest to our thoughtful reader a train of profitable meditations, bringing on that form of reverie which does not weaken, but strengthen: —

"There is an unknown history of our own lives, concealed from us in this world, but which it may be our privilege in another existence to learn, and a very curious revelation it will be! Shall we then know in what degree we have really been loved by others or disliked? — why various events which seemed about to take place never did occur? — what influence we ourselves have had over the destiny of others? — what unimagined effect has followed on some casual remarks? — what joy or what sorrow we have unknowingly caused? — what place we have held in the conversation of those who knew us, and even what good or what evil we have unconsciously done?"

And yet may there not be a loftier view of the retrospections, occupations, and interests of the future state than is here presented? This must be intended but as a surmise of what may only partially and feebly claim the powers of a disembodied spirit, in the world where we do hope and pray that all things may assume their *just relations*.

L. J. H.

ART. IX. — MISS MARTINEAU'S GOSPEL OF ATHEISM.*

WE hardly know whether to regard this book as too weak to be soberly criticized, or as too wicked to be laughed at. It professes to be a sort of *novum organum* for physico-mental science; and its peculiar merit consists in its extreme simplification of the inductive philosophy. There is no longer need of the prolonged collection and diligent collation of facts; nor is it at all necessary that the facts contain the logical inferences deduced from them. The reasoning of the book reminds us of an inverted pyramid. The basis of facts is a mere apex, — the conclusions sweep the universe. Were we to deny the existence of the sun and stars, because, when we thrust our heads between two blankets, we could see neither "bodies celestial" nor any of the light supposed to emanate from them, we should draw, according to the principles here recognized, no more than a legitimate

* *Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development.* By HENRY GEORGE ATKINSON and HARRIET MARTINEAU. London: John Chapman. 1851. 12mo. pp. xii, 390.

consequence from our premises, — nay, more, we should be authorized in asserting, that it is some modification of the component elements of blanket that through the telescope assumes the delusive aspect of binary stars and nebulae. The science of these six thousand years goes for nothing. Two deaf people (whom their irreverent readers will be very apt to term dotards) have mesmerized half a dozen crotchety invalids, and neither an immaterial soul, nor a personal Deity, nor a life after death, has left any impression upon their fingers. Therefore the soul is brute matter, God is a figment of certain regions of the brain, and the revelation of immortality an audacious lie. The sense of touch is the sole instrument and text of scientific truth, — touching is believing, — the philosophy which finds no entrance through the fingers' ends to the crass and muddled brain is mere priestcraft and foolcraft.

If the reasoning of this book awakens mirthfulness, its moral aspect saddens us. Here are two persons, of at least some intellectual pretension, (one of whom has in former times been ambitious of a name in Christian literature,) now in a state of intense self-complacency, mutual admiration, and jubilant ecstasy, on discovering that they are — brutes. They are in advance of all the rest of mankind, and they know it; but they exhort each other to bear the consciousness of their superiority meekly and kindly, — to remember that they once thought that they had souls, and not to assume arrogant or supercilious airs towards those who still lie under the same infatuation. But they have reached the sublime conclusion that they differ only in shape and in the conformation of brain from the lower animals. They can hardly find words to express their pity for those who are still dogged by the phantoms of freedom and accountability, so sweet is it to be the conscious puppets of organic laws, and to cast all the responsibility of moral action on the relative proportions of the cerebrum and the cerebellum. Immeasurably blessed do they deem themselves, (and with our view of the conditions of a happy immortality we agree with them,) in the assurance that death will dissolve their personality, and render up as available for Nature's further use a certain quantity of phosphate of lime, fibrine, and adipose matter. The only point on which

they disagree is that of the true construction of the Gospel history. The man supposes Christ to have been the most susceptible and skilful of mesmerizers. The woman would think so, had she not read Strauss; but she very sensibly submits, that it is more convenient and rational to regard the whole story as an accretion of myths with no historical basis, than to embrace in the category of mesmeric phenomena facts which so far transcend their own achievements in this line. But they both think that there may have been something in prophecy; for they have had under their hands old women who could prophesy when asleep.

We do not like to soil our pages with blasphemy, and our extracts shall be very brief; but our readers may reasonably desire to know whether, in defining the religious doctrines of this book, we have drawn our own inferences from language which admits of a different import, or whether the language is too explicit to bear more than one meaning. Let the following brief extracts be taken as specimens of page after page which we might quote. Miss Martineau writes, —

“Pray tell me, too, whether, in your last letter, you do not in speaking of God use merely another term for law? We know nothing beyond law, do we? And when you speak of God as the origin of all things, what is it that you mean? Do we know any thing of origin? — that it is possible? Is it conceivable to you that there was ever Nothing? — and that Something came of it?” — p. 164.

“I quite agree with what you say about the idea of another life. The desire of a future existence is merely a pampered habit of mind, founded upon the instinct of preservation. It is a longing, and those who have it are like drinkers or children. The drunkard looks upon the water-drinker as a lower species of animal, and cannot understand his doing without the desire of drinking. The child fancies its own little enjoyment and promised holiday to be all in all, and the whole world of pleasure.” — p. 185. (From Mr. Atkinson's Letter.)

“What is religion but another feature of romance, with its wonders upon wonders, — its hopes, its terrors, its fictions? Baron Munchausen is a tame affair to it.” — p. 234. (Mr. A.)

“Strange as it may appear, and impossible as it may seem to so many, the Christian religion is in fact, and will soon be, generally, recognized as no better than an old wife's fable.” — p. 239. (Mr. A.)

The following passage from one of Miss Martineau's letters we cite, mainly that we may adjure the clergyman here referred to, if traduced, to repel the charge, — if rightly represented, as an honest man, though no longer a Christian, to take up his station outside of the Church, and to let Christianity find in him an open foe in lieu of a treacherous friend.

"It would interest you to see a letter I am going to answer from a clergyman far in the interior of the United States, who declares that his people, as well as himself, want only truth, — sure that it can never be hostile to holiness. They are not satisfied of the Christian religion being a revelation attested by miracles, and do not see (being Theists) why its value depends on the establishment of such a claim. The phenomena of Mesmerism, — the healing of diseases, thought-reading, *clairvoyance*, and pre-vision, — have awakened this clergyman, as you might suppose, leaving him with a very different impression of the Scripture miracles from that which he brought from college. If I could admit the narratives of Jesus and his miracles to be historically true, I should adopt your view of the powers by which he wrought them. I am disposed, rather, to regard Strauss's exposition of the case to be the true one, and to admit that the tales are mainly legendary, and a perpetuation of the ideas, and repetition of the narratives, of old Jewish traditions. In that case, however, the explanation answers alike well: for the endowment of Orientals with greater mesmeric power than the Western races would alike be at the bottom of the case. No one who has travelled in the East, aware of the facts of mesmerism, can wonder at any amount of belief and statement of 'miracles,' which there abound on every hand. Whoever and whatever Jesus might be, (of which I think we know little or nothing,) the traditions which settled on his head are easily derivable from the physiological and theological peculiarities of the race, its locality and period of time." — pp. 221, 222.

Entirely consonant with the effrontery of these extracts is the insinuation that Bacon was covertly an atheist, and has privily sown in his writings the seeds of a harvest of atheistical ideas, which has just begun to ripen.

The dissemination of these Antichristian and atheistical notions is obviously the prime purpose of the work before us. And these notions are audacious generalizations from the alleged facts of phrenology and mesmerism. Now, though we do not give our credence to a tithe of the *facts* cited, we might admit them all,

and our faith in the soul's separate existence in God, in revelation, and immortality would be unshaken; nay, perhaps confirmed and intensified. We have neither time nor space for a discussion of the claims of these, as we believe, pseudo-sciences on our reception; but we would offer a few remarks on their potential bearing upon the religious faith of Christendom.

Phrenology, by the tacit admission of its expositors, has not yet passed from the state of a hypothesis to that of a definite and established science. On Mr. Atkinson's own showing, if it has assumed this latter condition, it has first assumed it through his auspices. He has discovered much vagueness and some error in the statements of previous inquirers, and his chart of the human cranium includes new locations, new nomenclature, and new organs. He admits that the dissecting-knife has not yet succeeded in separating the organs from one another, or in identifying the convolutions of the brain with the partitions between them. Their separate existence is assumed in order to suit a certain theory of mental action; and the physical science, thus existing only by courtesy and sufferance, is now made the law and the measure of all truth and all being. In terming the phrenological theory a gratuitous assumption, we do not forget that the manifestations of mind and character bear a certain general relation to the development of the brain, — a proposition which embraces all that observation has fully verified, and all that even Spurzheim professed to have ascertained from the heads of the living, and which was as little doubted a century ago as now. But this relation may be accounted for consistently with the unity of the brain; for its greater or less volume, its more or less commodious stowage, its strength or slenderness of fibre, the superior nearness or remoteness of its fullest portions with reference to the nerves of sense, — all these circumstances would essentially modify the degree and the kind of mental activity, even if the brain is a homogeneous organ.

But if we grant that the brain is an assemblage of organs, we have not begun to disprove the separate existence of the immaterial soul. The consciousness of unity and of identity is unaccountable as a material phenomenon. The idea of self (of the ME, to borrow the

cant of the day) could no more originate from the nice adjustment and harmonious working of the human machine, than from that of the steam-engine or the cotton-jenny. It is, indeed, alleged with truth, that the lesion, the suffusion, or the induration of the brain impairs the action of the mind. And so does the dulness or the loss of his tools impair the operative skill of the artisan. The theory of the soul's embodiment presupposes its dependence on the bodily organs. Could it act without them, it would no longer be embodied; but would be in the same condition with the Deity, who, as we suppose, lives in material forms, but is in no sense or degree circumscribed by them. The phrenologist is at liberty to regard the brain as the soul's case of instruments, which, on this supposition, could not be injured without the soul's being at that point crippled in its power of apprehension, volition, or manifestation. If there be an immaterial soul, it must necessarily be liable to such physical conditions of activity and self-expression, as are contended for by the phrenologist, and virtually admitted by the common sense of the race. The spiritual theory with regard to mental infirmity or inaction may be well illustrated by these quaint stanzas of Sir John Davies:—

“As a good harper stricken far in years,
Into whose cunning hands the gout doth fall,
All his old crotchets in his brain he bears,
But on his harp plays ill, or not all.

“But if Apollo takes his gout away,
That he his nimble fingers may apply,
Apollo's self will envy at his play,
And all the world applaud his minstrelsy.”

Now in the book before us the thread of argument on this subject is so much attenuated, that we trace it with very great difficulty; but we are confident that, in our exposition of it, we are going to render it more than justice. It is as follows. The relative fulness or depression of the several organs of the brain determines in general the mental and moral character. The excitement of any particular organ, by mesmerism or otherwise, brings into intense action the corresponding mental or moral faculty. The intense or prolonged exercise of any faculty produces a local sensation of pain or weariness.

ness, the seat of which can always be identified with the appropriate organ. Therefore thought, volition, and emotion are nothing more than the action of the brain. They are necessitated by the cerebral organization, or by the external influences to which it is subjected. Human freedom, then, is a contradiction of terms. Intelligent causation, or the exercise of power, falls not within our experience, and forms no part of our consciousness. But attributes, of which we have no conception in ourselves, we cannot conceive of as existing in other beings. Consequently, a personal, intelligent, free First Cause is beyond the range of human conception, therefore impossible, therefore non-existent. We have experience only of the immutable operation of physical laws. Law, therefore, impersonal, irrational, automatic Law, working on from eternity to eternity, is the only God of philosophy. Creation from nothing there cannot have been; for there is no immaterial existence, and matter cannot have created itself, and must needs have existed from a past eternity. The creation of organized existence from crude matter is too small an affair to demand the violent hypothesis of an intelligent Creator. Under Mr. Crosse's recent experiments, animalcules have made their appearance on a moistened surface, exposed for several months to the action of an electric current. Such animalcules were doubtless the remote progenitors of man and all the higher animals. Given, then, chaos and electricity, we have the universe of organized sentient and rational beings.

If our readers have not been put out of breath by the rapidity of this demonstration, they have been made aware, in some degree, of the vast indebtedness of the world to these pioneers in hitherto unexplored realms of truth, — an indebtedness which they are by no means chary of proclaiming. But there is one class of phenomena for which they evidently have not formed an appropriate solution. We refer to those of memory. We need not say that it is intrinsically impossible for the experiences of a lifetime to leave prolonged vibrations or permanent furrows in the brain. The minutest motion or impression left by each of the remembered sensations or reflections would, in a few hours, throw the action of the brain into inextricable confusion, or so indent its

whole surface and substance, that new impressions could be made only by obliterating the old. We can conceive of Priestley's materialism, for in his creed there was an Omnipotent Deity, whose unceasing presence might be memory to man, as we believe it to be instinct to the brutes. But if there is no soul, and if there is not in the hands of the Creator "a book of remembrance," which he suffers man to read, then is memory a function of matter, susceptible of anatomical demonstration with sufficiently delicate instruments. We ask for facts,—for facts cognizable by the senses; and are emboldened in our demand by the abnegation of all other evidence, and, most of all, that of consciousness, in the book under review. Let the phrenologists show us under the most powerful microscope the impress of an imbedded idea, or the difference between a young and an old, an empty and a full brain, or the physical characteristics of the brain which are adapted to continuity of impression or action. Let them detect the lumber-closet in the cranium, where memories lie hidden for years, and return fresh and life-like as when they first passed under the shadow of oblivion. But the point is too obvious for grave reasoning. We know that the brain has nothing in its organization, and exhibits nothing in its dissection, that can account for memory. Were our whole body a brain, and were each deposited reminiscence no larger than the point of a needle, we have seen and read and thought enough that is unforgotten, to fill this brain a dozen times over; and we want nothing more or else than memory to demonstrate the existence of a spirit in man,—of a soul, which, though it may perceive and reason through the agency of the brain, has a treasure incapable of being laid up in "earthen vessels," and which asserts the immateriality of its container in the very fact of its preservation.

As regards mesmerism, we believe as little as we can, yet we cannot deny that its practitioners, in the avatar of charlatanry and credulity which has attended their labors, are developing some previously occult laws of the human organism. But the mesmeric state is confessedly exceptional, abnormal. Its subjects are for the most part, we think invariably, diseased. The peculiar phenomena which they exhibit are the result of morbid ac-

tion. Generalizations from them cannot, therefore, be applicable to the race collectively. As well might the tubercles in the ulcerated lungs be made the basis of a theory of respiration, as the contortions and vaticinations of the mesmerized be assumed as exponents of the laws of mind.

But while we would enter this caveat, we do not feel the need of it; for the alleged phenomena of mesmerism, incredible as they are except on the most ample evidence, are impossible unless there be an immaterial soul. We will take first the case of abnormal perception. Persons are said to see through thick bandages, and through quadruple envelopes, — to read books placed on the top of the head or against the spinal column. Now, on the hypothesis of the materialist, the eye is the only organ adapted for the purpose of seeing. There is no opening in the skull or between the vertebræ for the transmission of light. There is no avenue by which external objects can come into contact with the brain. Phrenologists in general recognize no cerebral organ of sight; and Mr. Atkinson's "Mental Eye is an *inner* convolution, central, and immediately behind the intellectual faculties." If there be such an organ, a perforation in the skull would be necessary to open this additional inlet for the forms and colors of the external world. If, in philosophical strictness, it is the eye that sees, perceptions corresponding with those of sight cannot take place through any other medium. But if it is the soul that sees, and the eye is only the loophole in its house of clay through which it ordinarily looks out upon the world, then it is conceivable that the soul may at times exercise this function through other avenues, or without any physical instrumentality. While matter must always retain its properties unless it be subjected to some chemical process of change, while the opaque must remain opaque, and no one organism can discharge the offices of another, the immaterial being, in which certain functions are connate and inherent, may perform these functions, generally and normally through certain physical agencies, yet at times independently of them.

The community of thought, feeling, and volition, which is said to be established between the mesmerizer and the mesmerized, perhaps admits of a material solu-

tion. It might be maintained, that, through the electromagnetic medium of communication, the vibrations of one brain are transmitted to the other. Yet this solution is inapplicable to the pet marvels of adepts and amateurs in this strange art, — to the mesmerizing of distant subjects, the willing of what the patient shall do after the operator has taken his leave, the transmission of directions through a space measured by miles or leagues, and the like. If these things take place, (we say not that they do,) it is physically impossible that the bodies should be in *rapport*, and the communication must be that of mind with mind.

Clairvoyance and prophecy are proclaimed by our authors as undoubted phenomena of frequent occurrence in the mesmeric and other abnormal conditions. Mr. Atkinson has a friend "blind from birth," who "always sees in her sleep," "frequently in her sleep perceives what is going on in distant places, and also foresees future events." She would be an invaluable contributor to the morning papers, for she often sees in the course of the night events which occur during the next day. She, early one Sunday morning, saw a clergyman, at the distance of two hundred miles from her, fall in a dangerous fit in the pulpit; and the same event was witnessed by the congregation at service-time several hours subsequently. Now we believe none of these things; but the writers of this book maintain the reality and veracity of these alleged modes of perception, with the single exception, that, when their dupes dream of spirits and angels, Christ and heaven, they suppose them deluded; for, we are oracularly told, "*Clairvoyance* does not reach beyond phenomena." But were we constrained by the ample testimony of credible people to believe this story of the blind woman, we should be forced to resort to some spiritual theory for its exposition. It is absurd to pretend, that, though the clergyman was her parish-minister, there could have been a physical connection between his brain and hers, which could remain unbroken through so vast an intervening space, and with the interposition of such a legion of disturbing forces. Equally impossible is it, (we do not say *improbable*,) that that "Mental Eye" of hers could see, not only through the septum of the skull, but through houses, fences, and forests innumerable, and

in a plane of vision unaffected by three or four degrees of the earth's curvature. A still stronger draft (if there can be) is made upon our credulity, when we are bidden to believe that the physical causes which were about to produce catalepsy in the clergyman were the objects of her distinct perception, while he was still unconscious of their existence. If *clairvoyance* ever takes place at such remote distances, it must be in one of two ways. Either a personal and omnipresent Deity brings before the inward vision of the *clairvoyant* the semblance of the distant event, or else the soul is for the time being rendered independent of bodily conditions and material laws, and is vested with an ubiquity which may perhaps be a universal attribute of spiritual existences. As for the foresight of future events, a single well-authenticated instance of prescience, too circumstantial to be explained as a fortuitous coincidence, and too remote to be founded on calculation, would be in our apprehension a fuller demonstration of the being and attributes of God than the whole material universe. The harmonies between prediction and fact cannot be ground out in the unreasoning mill of chance; nor yet, under the dominion of impersonal law, could a future event be perceived without an accurate knowledge of the whole intervening chain of causes. If this blind woman, neither knowing nor suspecting the liability of the clergyman to cataleptic fits, did actually foretell this incident, with a variety of concomitant circumstances, embracing places and people out of the pale of her knowledge, this one incident would suffice to convert us from atheism.

We have expressed our doubt of the most marvellous classes of mesmeric stories, not because with our religious belief they seem impossible, (for with God all things are possible,) but because the mystagogues and reporters in this department have generally been unreliable, either as charlatans by trade or as over-credulous by nature or habit. We doubt these narratives on another ground. We have found it exceedingly difficult to procure vouchers for them. The magnitude of the story commonly increases with the square of the distance. When traced towards its origin, it dwindles into a phenomenon easy to be accounted for, or else it eludes pursuit, retreats as we approach it, as Ithaca did from

Ulysses, and, when at last we think we have reached it, vanishes into thin air. But we are not disposed to deny that there may be sometimes a more than casual coincidence between dreams or imaginings and future events, or that such coincidences may have taken place within purloins claimed as their own by the mesmeric hierarchy. We believe that the current of thought in our waking and sleeping hours is controlled and modified by the same paternal Providence that governs the physical universe; and there may be reasons in the Divine economy for the occasional creation of detailed and minute coincidences between outward events and mental experiences. In modes like these, the individual soul may sometimes be prepared for impending calamity, or impressed with a more profound sense of Divine realities. Nay, our theology would lead us to anticipate the not infrequent recurrence of these harmonies; and probably the reason why among rational Christians they have fallen into so general discredit is, that they have from time immemorial had superstitious rather than religious associations connected with them, that they have been regarded as external phenomena, not as mental experiences, and have been deemed the work of inferior, often of malignant agents, not the thoughts breathed into the soul with genial purpose and a kindly mission by the spirit of the All-merciful. We are by no means solicitous to establish any theory of direct communication from the spiritual world. We are satisfied with the Bible, and feel no need of supplementary revelations of any sort. But there are in many families and neighborhoods authentic traditions, more or less recent, of experiences like those of which we now speak, and they are of such a nature that it is impossible to account for them on the doctrine of chances. If there are any of our readers who are constrained to give credit to facts of this class, we would show them where to look for their only possible solution, not in phantoms from the under-world, not in the incantations of the living or the night-walking of the dead, but in the spiritual presence and providence of the Universal Father.

What strikes us the most forcibly, as regards alleged mesmeric and similar abnormal phenomena, is the running commentary which they furnish on St. Paul's text, "We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth."

The manipulators of various name, who have sprung as scions from the mesmeric stock, have few of them been friendly to Christianity. Many of them have been mere money-hunters ; and of the residue, the greater part have assumed a hostile position towards the general faith of Christendom. Yet what is the result ? If they have wrought any thing, or proved any thing, they have heaped up new and incontrovertible evidence of the being of God and the immateriality of the human soul. Their pretended discoveries would be such perfect demonstrations of these fundamental doctrines of religion, that, were we conscious of a wavering faith in spiritual things, we should be at some pains to convince ourselves of a class of facts which we now hold in suspicion, and for the consideration of which we confess a lurking distaste. Then, too, as regards the miracles of the New Testament, Miss Martineau for once is right in saying that mesmerism does not begin to account for them. Reverence forbids our carrying out the comparison ; — it is enough to name the events at Nain, at Bethany, at the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, to show how unassailable is the citadel of our Christian faith by any of the pretended marvels and professing wonder-workers of our own age.

We can neither find nor give pleasure by a more extended notice of the book under review. Should it be deemed worthy of republication in this country, we would suggest as a motto for the American edition this pregnant passage of holy writ : — “ Because they received not the love of the truth, God shall send them a strong delusion, that they should believe a lie.” We forbear to quote the rest of the sentence. In addition to the characteristics of the book which we have indicated, we might have spoken of its egotistical character ; for there is hardly a philosopher or discoverer to whom any credit is given, except Bacon, whose frequent obscurity of language renders the gross caricature of his thoughts a comparatively easy matter. “ I and Bacon ” are the joint writers of almost every letter, Bacon occupying the place of a junior partner. Because the book is egotistical, it is morbid, sickening, disgusting in its details. The writers are, both of them, diseased persons, and morbidly self-conscious and curious as to the diseased action of their own systems. They have raked for the

index-facts of the universe among the maimed, the blind, the epileptic, and the idiotic; and we cannot find that they have ever thought it worth their while to study the phenomena of a healthy body or a sound mind. We are glad that they have produced so nauseous a book. Would to Heaven that impudence, impiety, and blasphemy might never again appear in less loathsome attire!

A. P. P.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Races of Men: a Fragment. By ROBERT KNOX, M. D.
Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1850. 12mo. pp. 323.

A FRAGMENT of what, we wonder. The book is arranged — if such a word may be applied to such a production — in thirteen lectures, which have been publicly delivered in England. In what way must remain a mystery; for they vary in length from four to sixty-seven pages each. It is put together as the result of vast observation, profound study, and great acuteness and originality of perception; at least, so the Doctor loudly calls upon us to believe. And how is it, then, a fragment? We have it. Prodigious as the work is, it is but a small part of what he could tell us, if he were not in so much hurry. But this will do. It is quite enough. The simple facts, that his mind is so unmethodized, and his speech so incoherent, — not to say inconsistent, — as often to leave it doubtful what he really means to say; that his temper is too vehement and scornful to reason; and that his abrupt style occasionally rises into the “Orphic,” — may perhaps give him a right to the title of fragmentary, in a still further sense. His main doctrine is, that the several races of men are all originally distinct, and *race is every thing*. The italics are his. He is determined to stick by the whole assertion, without abating a jot. A man is a Catholic because he is a Celt, and a Protestant because he is a Saxon, and there can be no mistake about it. He breaks off, in rather a tantalizing way, when he hints at the marvellous significance of “the nodule of bone growing upon the inner side of the arm-bone.” He does not even develop into any great distinctness the “transcendental theory of anatomy,” which he calls “the greatest discovery ever made, not even excepting the law of gravitation.” For this deficiency the curious and patient reader

may find consolation in the mystifications of Oken, as they are set forth in Felton's *Menzel*,—a most entertaining book,—or in Mr. Stallo's volume, which is certainly of a very different class. The meaning, however, of such passages as these is tolerably plain, we think:—"The organic and inorganic worlds have coexisted, no doubt, from all eternity. Perhaps they form but one. The discovery of the creation of the world by fixed laws is due mainly to Oken," etc.

Dr. Knox rejoices in his descent, we believe, from John Knox, the famous Scottish Reformer. We doubt whether old John would rejoice much over him. His stern face would grow a little fierce, we imagine, at the sight of his degenerate descendant. Not that he does not sometimes say good things and in a bright way; but his doctrine is a mischief, his prejudices are bitter, his spirit is most unfavorable to the sober search after any truth. A disagreeable cynicism pervades his pages, as well as a wonderful store of affectations and bits of extraordinary English. If we were obliged to sum up our idea of him in a single sentence, we should say that he was a boastful dogmatist, eaten up with German nonsense and his own conceit, uttering in snatches and riddles a theory of materialism and despair. We have been told that he intends paying a visit to these United States. We pray you do, Doctor; provided you will not inflict your lectures upon us, or expect us to receive you with any marked distinction. Perhaps you will see reason, after you have looked at us, to think more favorably than you now do of our political prospects and national existence. You believe that no race of men can permanently change their locality. You say that the colonization of Northern America "is a problem, whose success cannot reasonably be believed." You imagine you can perceive the signs of deterioration already "in the early loss of the subcutaneous adipose cushion." You tell us, in rather a swaggering way, that "the United States men have forgotten who they are, and fancy themselves *Americans*, because they choose to call themselves so. Is the boasted Union to be permanent? It must come to a half-dozen monarchies at last,—a king of New York, a Leopold installed in Kentucky, an Otho in Michigan, a liberal despotism under a prince of the noble house of Brunswick or Brandenburg." At any rate, not Brunswick or Brandenburg, if you please, most learned prophet. Be all these things as they will, however; and, leaving the future to the care of that Divine Providence which you seem to hold in so much contempt, we are sure of one thing, that you will not find in any portion of our land that "rancorous and eternal hatred for the parent kingdom," that "abhorrence of her and her rotten institutions," which you so glibly and with such a filial piety describe.

The reprinting of this book does no credit to its publishers. In the first place, because of the wild character of the performance. In the second place, because of the extremely inaccurate and slovenly manner in which it is printed. We have counted ten blunders on one page, the 143d. As for such phrases as "Cicero's defence of Flaccus *for* misconduct," and such assertions as the march of Alexander the Great "five hundred years before our Saviour," we shall leave author and proof-reader to share the burden between them. We must declare, that the motto "*quæ prosunt omnibus*," which figures upon the title-page round the rim of a shield with the winged Caduceus for its device, was never more inappropriately placed.

Lavengro; the Scholar, — the Gypsy, — the Priest. By GEORGE BORROW, Author of "The Bible in Spain," and "The Gypsies of Spain." New York: G. P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo. pp. 550.

THIS is a remarkable, but most unsatisfactory book. The public had a right to expect something better from Mr. Borrow. The fragments of personal history with which his former works were checkered excited some interest as to his early adventures. He seemed to have strayed in many lands and to have learned many tongues. To a keen eye, cool courage, and a stout will, he added a roving disposition and an insatiable thirst for adventure; and the marvels which he related were not always less marvellous when his story was done. In this book we hoped to find some curious and even valuable reminiscences of his wide and various travels, and an explanation of the anomalous features of his former works. His veracity has been impugned, but on some startling points most strikingly confirmed. In this book he had an opportunity to make every thing clear. But "*Lavengro*" is mystery worse mystified. The author keeps incredulous critics at bay by assuming an amphibious character, half real and half romantic, now running wild, as it would seem, in the most vagrant extravagance, and now settling down into honest and matter-of-fact biography. He gives us the place of his birth and takes us with him to the scenes in which his youth was passed. Old Norwich is easily recognized, and the portrait of William Taylor is not to be mistaken.* Other characters,

* The following is an extract from a letter of William Taylor to Robert Southey, written in 1821:—

"A young man is construing with me Schiller's *William Tell*, with the view of translating it for the press. His name is George Henry Borrow. He has learned German with extraordinary rapidity; indeed, he has the

we doubt not, are drawn from life, and some of them with great truth and spirit. But Mr. Borrow's cookery is in the French style, — highly spiced and equivocal.

What good end is to be answered by this book, it is not easy to imagine. And yet it seems to have had more than one object. The author tells us, that "among the many things attempted in this book is the encouragement of charity and free and genial manners, and the exposure of humbug, of which there are various kinds, but of which the most perfidious, the most debasing, and the most cruel, is the humbug of the Priest." That "free manners" will suffer nothing at the hands of a writer, whose "most entertaining character" is a gypsy, and who professes all due regard for such as are "proper men with their hands," and affectionately apostrophizes the bruisers and blood-horses of Old England, is credible. As to "humbug," of which there are indeed various kinds, a preacher less prodigal in wonders might be more edifying. "Charity," we presume, will not find Mr. Borrow out of the reach of a generous requital of his services.

"Let no one think," says our author in his characteristic preface, "that irreligion is advocated in this book." Of course no one will suspect an ex-missionary of the Bible Society of that. But few will impute to "Lavengro" the contrary extreme. For the book has a good share of heathenish scenes and irreligious characters. Prizefighters and cockfighters and jockeys and gypsies and "flaming tinmen" are showered upon us, for no reason that appears, except to show that "no countries are less known by the British than these selfsame British Islands," — a blissful ignorance, perhaps, in this instance. But Mr. Borrow, we trust, has shaken the refuse wheat out of his bag, and will yet open to us a more profitable store. He has discharged his debt to the "Gypsy"; and charity will excuse him from meddling again with the "Priests" of a church which he hates so heartily as he does the Romish. He has much to tell us yet, and he knows how to tell it well. Of his descriptive power there can be no question, and the best scenes of this strange book are executed in a manner which proves that the author needs only a more self-denying use of his resources. When we hear from him again, we hope he will inform us how he became a Christian and a missionary.

gift of tongues, and though not yet eighteen, understands twelve languages; English, Welsh, Erse, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, Danish, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese. He would like to get into the office for Foreign Affairs, but does not know how." — *Memoirs of W. Taylor*, II. 496.

Christ in Hades: a Poem. By WILLIAM W. LORD. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. 16mo. pp. 183.

THE learning, thought, and constructive force of imagination shown in this production are far above mediocrity. The doctrine, or legend, on which it is based, though now neglected, was once, and for long, a prominent part of the theology of Christendom; the feature in the prevailing interpretation of our religion which perhaps more than any other allied the Christian creeds to the ethnic mythologies. For the sake of the information it affords, and the light it sheds on several obscure views rapidly fading from the popular mind, as well as on account of the poetic enjoyment to be derived from its perusal, we trust Mr. Lord's poem will find a large number of readers. This work can be reviewed with severe censure, and without praise,—as we have seen it hastily reviewed,—only by one who either judges it by an inapplicable standard, or utterly fails to appreciate its merits, while he exaggerates its sins. True, it has defects and faults, which, in a searching critical estimate, would demand notice, and would somewhat modify the commendation we bestow upon it.

The Cæsars. By THOMAS DE QUINCEY, Author of "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater," etc., etc. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 16mo. pp. 295.

THIS volume embraces the whole of the well-known papers under this title contributed by Mr. De Quincey to Blackwood's Magazine some seventeen or eighteen years since, and forms the fourth volume of the collected edition of his miscellaneous works. It is written with great brilliancy, and well exhibits the encyclopedic character of the author's mind, and that happy command of language which is found in all his writings, while it has fewer defects than some of his other productions. In speaking of Hazlitt, he somewhere complains that his writings want continuity. But the same defect is equally apparent in his own case. His mind, like Hazlitt's, is eminently discursive; and in all of his works that have fallen under our notice there is a disposition to pass off from the main subject and discuss collateral questions. In truth, the peculiar bent of his mind leads him to follow every new vein of thought that may be opened in the course of his remarks; and the reader is continually drawn away from the main subject to consider questions which, though interesting and important in themselves, are not always very closely connected with the point at issue. We see this tendency in the work now before us, where, instead of confining himself

to a strictly historical or biographical survey of the Cæsars, our author is constantly entering upon an examination of some incidental topic connected with the history of Rome, which interrupts the flow of his narrative and not unfrequently perplexes the reader's mind by distracting his attention. These digressions, however, are often admirable, and sometimes materially assist the reader in arriving at a correct understanding of the principal question. Nothing, indeed, can be more sound, judicious, and weighty, than the observations on the causes of the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the third chapter. Other points are discussed with equal clearness and vigor; and on the whole we are inclined to regard this as one of the best of Mr. De Quincey's numerous works.

We are greatly indebted to Mr. Fields for his editorial taste and care in collecting from various sources these admirable contributions to our literature. We are looking forward with high expectations to the three volumes which are promised us of De Quincey's Autobiographical Papers.

Foreign Reminiscences, by HENRY RICHARD LORD HOLLAND.

Edited by his Son, HENRY EDWARD LORD HOLLAND. London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans. 1850. Post 8vo. pp. 362.

EVEN if these Reminiscences were less entertaining and instructive than they really are, we should be still interested in them from a recollection of the illustrious name which their author inherited, and of the distinguished position which he himself held among the statesmen of England during the last half-century. Henry Richard Fox, third Lord Holland, was born in November, 1773, and succeeded to the barony when he was only a year old. In his youth he travelled on the Continent and remained abroad some time; so that his Parliamentary career did not commence until 1798. But from his first entrance into public life he distinguished himself by an earnest and eloquent advocacy of those principles which his uncle, the Right Honorable Charles James Fox, was maintaining with unequalled ability in the other House; and until his death, in October, 1840, he continued their steady and consistent supporter. Indeed, we cannot now recall any liberal measure which he did not advocate, nor any act of injustice and oppression which he did not resist. Nor are we aware that any stain rests on his course as a statesman. The early part of his private life, however, was marked by some flagrant vices; and indications of their effect upon his mind may doubtless be seen in several of the anecdotes in the present

volume. He inherited much of the ability of his family ; and Holland House was the resort of all the eminent literary men of his party, who were attracted there by the learning, wit, and rare social qualities of their host. During his life he published biographies of Lope de Vega and Guillen de Castro, and several translations and pamphlets, besides writing numerous protests which were entered upon the journals of the House of Lords ; and, as we learn by references in the present work, he has left a manuscript memoir of his own times, which we trust will be given to the public at some future period. The *Reminiscences* exhibit most of the qualities which we anticipated in them. They are written in an easy, gossiping style ; and if they present little that is positively new, they are valuable and interesting for giving the views of one so well qualified to judge of men and measures as Lord Holland, and for the fund of curious anecdotes which they contain.

Twice-Told Tales. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. In Two Volumes. A New Edition. Boston : Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 16mo. pp. 287, 288.

The House of the Seven Gables, a Romance. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Boston : Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 16mo. pp. 344.

THE *Twice-Told Tales* were the first fruits of Mr. Hawthorne's genius ; and their simple beauty and quiet pathos are doubtless familiar to many of our readers. They display the same mental characteristics that he has shown in his later works ; and in the present elegant edition, which is enriched with an original Preface and a finely engraved head of the author, they can hardly fail of finding many new admirers.

In the Preface to *The House of the Seven Gables*, our author claims for the book "a certain latitude, both as to its fashion and material, which he would not have felt himself entitled to assume, had he professed to be writing a Novel" ; and he further tells us, that "it has been no part of his object, however, to describe local manners, nor in any way to meddle with the characteristics of a community for whom he cherishes a proper respect and a natural regard." He has, however, a moral constantly in view, which is, to show that "the wrong-doing of one generation lives into the successive ones, and, divesting itself of every temporary advantage, becomes a pure and uncontrollable mischief" ; and the same idea is presented once and again in the course of the romance itself. The work whose character and aim are thus described is a production of great power,

though inferior in interest to *The Scarlet Letter*. The impression which it leaves on the reader's mind is, indeed, much pleasanter than that produced by its predecessor; but its plot is more complex, the characterization more exaggerated, and the artistic execution less perfect. Viewed as a whole, it will stand much higher than when considered in its separate parts; for the general outline is well conceived, but the filling up is not of equal excellence. There is too much of disquisition, and too little of narrative and dialogue. Consequently we have fewer descriptive passages of so great beauty and so tender pathos as we find in *The Scarlet Letter* and in some of the *Twice-Told Tales*, while there are scattered through the volume many sparkling gems of thought and incidental sketches of character which are alike striking and admirable. It will add to Mr. Hawthorne's reputation, and be greatly admired by a large class of readers.

We may say here, what we should have said at greater length had we noticed *The Scarlet Letter*, that it contains the grossest and foulest falsification of truth in history and personal character, that we have ever encountered, in romance or narrative.

Poems, by HENRY THEODORE TUCKERMAN. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 16mo. pp. 176.

WE cannot extol the prevailing strain of poetry among us. Mostly — of course we except the names of our few poetic princes — it is of that indolent sort which one trims to a pattern, or weaves for the amusement of a refined leisure. It wants vividness. It wants depth. It wants clearness and force. We miss all the higher inspirations of the divine art. It has no sufficient reason for coming into public existence. Mr. Tuckerman's lines are as good, and a great deal better, than much that is called poetry. But they seem to us, we reluctantly confess, to fall short of a very high or distinct character. Their thought is too vague, and their style too conventional. The imagery is of the old, familiar kind. The language is graceful, but diffuse. The writer is evidently a gentleman of sensibility and delicate culture. We should love to be with him in some of the travelled spots that he describes. But we are ready to suspect that Wordsworth, a selection from whose works he edited not a great while ago, has beguiled him into a feeble, if not a false, estimate of what makes any composition really poetical. We say these things with entire respect for the author. We are sorry to be called on to declare our judgment, in connection with any publication of his, that every one who aspires to be a poet in this country should not be content with prettiness and commonplace

sentiment, but throw heart and soul into the task. He should not write the smallest piece without a determinate object, and a well-defined conception of what he wants to express. He should insist that it shall carry the stamp as of a signet upon it, and have some marked quality of its own.

Mr. Tuckerman's versification is generally smooth and musical, though with a very few strange exceptions. For example : —

“ Here a stranger stood in mute observance.”

“ There an artist leaned, and pleased his eye.”

“ And an eye exultant with high purpose.”

“ There are rooms whose walls are radiant still.”

What sort of decasyllables are these ? They all occur on the thirty-second page.

True poetry is a rare and precious thing ; and every one who reaches after its honors should devote to every fresh attempt his best care and the full vigor of his mind. He has no right to be slovenly, and it is not his wisdom to speak when he has little or nothing to say. We feel compelled to write a little earnestly on this subject. We call for a loftier standard of criticism upon it than is at present in fashion. If a poem is purely didactic, or merely sportive, it is amenable to the rules that belong to its class. But we maintain, as a general principle, that no poetry is worthy of the name, — none worth the trouble that it costs to be written or read, — that does not either rouse the minds or touch and warm the hearts of thoughtful men.

The Poetical and Prose Writings of Charles Sprague. New and revised Edition. Boston : Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1850. 12mo. pp. 205.

We hope it is not too late to say a few words upon this beautiful volume. Very few need be said of a poet, who won his pure fame, and took his endeared place in our poetry, a good while ago. This is the first edition of his writings published by himself. Ten years ago, the Messrs. Francis, understanding that a collection of Mr. Sprague's works was about to be undertaken in a way not likely to be perfectly satisfactory to his friends, assumed the task themselves ; and the result was an octavo volume, very creditable both to the publisher and printer. This volume Mr. Sprague would take no interest or part in, though he made no objection to its appearing. We are glad to receive a fresh and enlarged edition from his own hand. The book is so full of delicate skill and the truest feeling, that it will always be in demand, and live an affectionate kind of life in the old country, as well as in our own. Prefixed to it is an engraved portrait of the

author, which alone would give this new edition great value in our eyes. We will not call it a speaking likeness, only because we would rather call it his quietly meditative self. So we have seen him sit and look a hundred times, and hope to repeat the pleasure as many times more.

But this is not the only debt we are under to the present volume. It has added four pieces to the former collection, — an Installation Hymn, Children's Hymn, The Tomb of Emeline, and Charles James. The last of these, upon the death of the first-born son, is one of the most touching strains that have ever been allowed to flow out from the heart's deep sorrow upon the public ear. We give the whole a tardy, but a most hearty welcome. We do not believe that the poetic fire has gone down in so warm a breast as that of our bard. We earnestly exhort him to fan again for others the divine glow that is in him; and we will promise to be among the first to meet and greet him, when he comes again, with such bays as we have.

A Guide to the Scientific Knowledge of Things Familiar. By REV. DR. BREWER, Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Carefully revised and adapted for Use in Families and Schools of the United States. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1851. 16mo. pp. 426.

THE title of this useful little book is a sufficient index of its contents. Its character and object are every way commendable, and its execution is very happy. Electricity, Thunder and Lightning, Heat, Rain, Snow, Light, and the Chemistry of Nature and of Art, are here revealed in their wonderful operations, and turned to many household uses of pleasant information and profit.

The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral. By REV. JAMES M'COSH. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1851. 8vo. pp. 515.

THIS is a reprint of an English work, of which an elaborate and very laudatory notice appeared lately in the North British Review. We think that the commendation is on the whole well deserved. The author discusses the old topics of natural religion and metaphysical theology, and he does it in a clear, strong, and masterly manner, investing them with fresh interest, from the fulness of his resources, and the clear presentment of his points. He finds the Fall and the intended Restoration of man recognized in all the laws of nature and all the ways of Prov-

idence. In this hypothesis, or, as he would say, this fact, he finds the solution of all the mysteries of the universe, and of human nature and destiny. While we must dissent from some of our author's views, we acknowledge ourselves indebted to him for a high intellectual enjoyment; and we commend his book to such persons as have an appetite for a dish of strong and well-garnished Scotch metaphysics. We do not remember any recent writer of his class, of whose mental powers, philosophical spirit, and general fitness to treat great questions, we have received so favorable an impression.

Notes on North America, Agricultural, Economical, and Social.

By JAMES F. W. JOHNSTON, Reader in Chemistry and Mineralogy in the University of Durham. Boston: Little & Brown. 1851. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 415, 512.

PROFESSOR JOHNSTON will be known to many of our readers as having delivered a course of lectures before the Lowell Institute in 1850, on the "Relations of Science to Agriculture." His especial purpose in his visit to this continent was to pursue investigations connected with his favorite topic, and his "Notes" are in great part devoted to the results of his inquiries. New Brunswick, the Canadas, New York, and a portion of New England, were the field of his most careful observations, and the statistics of agriculture and general economics, with comparative estimates between different regions and different methods, are presented with much care and fidelity. It will thus appear that the author does not follow in the track of the English tourists who have preceded him, but has opened an original and most profitable subject of international interest. He has reciprocated the enterprise which the late Mr. Colman pursued in Great Britain. We have turned over his pages with high satisfaction, and we believe that they will engage the attention of our farmers and scientific agriculturists to some good purpose. There is a vast deal to be learned on this subject, and experiment and comparison are the two great sources of improvement.

The author's incidental remarks on society, manners, and religion among us are for the most part very correct and discriminating. He does not conceal his strong English predilections; indeed, we admire the candor with which he expresses them, and wherever he expresses an opinion unfavorable to us, we can see how it arises from imperfect knowledge and limited observation, so far as the opinion is unjust, and we are ready to accede to it so far as it is true. We have noticed some little inaccuracies, like the following. "In the cities, from eight to twelve

hundred dollars are given [as a minister's salary], and in rare cases, or to especial favorites, fifteen hundred." No city minister has less than fifteen hundred, and the "especial favorites" have more than double that salary. "There are thirteen Protestant Episcopal churches in Boston." We know of but seven. Professor Johnston is mistaken in supposing that King's Chapel, "in consequence of some endowments, still retains something of the form of the Episcopal service."

We are pleased to see that he does justice to Dr. Charles T. Jackson, in ascribing to him the discovery and announcement of the principle of etherization.

Christ in Theology; being the Answer of the Author, before the Hartford Central Association of Ministers, October, 1849, for the Doctrines of the Book entitled "God in Christ." By HORACE BUSHNELL. Hartford: Brown & Parsons. 1851. 12mo. pp. 348.

THIS volume, with the Preliminary Dissertation on Language in the author's former volume, taken in connection with Professor Park's Convention Sermon and his controversy with his Princeton Reviewer, give us a very significant index of the issue now raised between two parties in the Orthodox fold in New England. At the opening of the Unitarian controversy, forty years ago, the phrase "figurative language" was made use of by the Liberal party to a degree which excited both the remonstrances and the ridicule of their opponents. We are mistaken if Professor Park and Dr. Bushnell do not find the phrase more convenient than did our own brethren. Certain it is that these two influential and much honored divines find something in the bald, literal statement of Calvinism, even in the terms of Scripture phraseology, which greatly exercises their spirits. To soften and qualify, to dignify and rectify their verbal formulas, by distinguishing between the literal, intellectual verity and the emotional exaggeration that may be respectively conveyed in the same phrase, is the evident desire of both these divines. They are most unquestionably justified in the distinction on which they insist. Dr. Bushnell reviews, under the same divisions, the topics of his former work, embracing his essay on Language and his three Discourses on Christ, the Trinity, and the Atonement. There is a manliness, an earnestness, and a dignity in his plea, which, united with a masterly use of the new-fashioned philosophical phraseology, give to his volume a freshness that carries the reader through its most unedifying and barren discussions. The treatment of the themes is wholly remote from the intellectual reach or the practical use of ninety-nine in each

hundred of the Christian fold. We think we have understood a small portion of the volume. The most intelligible sentence in it is the following : — " I frankly own to you, that I accept no prevailing view of Trinity now held in New England." (p. 170.)

Characteristics of Literature, illustrated by the Genius of Distinguished Writers. By HENRY T. TUCKERMAN. Second Series. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1851. 12mo. pp. 282.

MR. TUCKERMAN's prose has all the good qualities of his poetry, with more of vigor, of manliness, and of all the intellectual faculties than we find in most of his rhythmical pieces. He is an elegant scholar, a man of rich culture, equally well furnished, too, in pure and tender and lofty sentiment. He has nice powers of analysis and discrimination, he uses a metaphor to good advantage, and can illustrate his views and positions in a way which proves their correctness and enforces their lessons. In the volume before us, eleven distinguished literary names stand as the exponents of the same number of departments of mental exercise and power. Thus, Manzoni represents the Novelist; Steele, the Censor; Humboldt, the Naturalist; Madame de Sévigné, the Correspondent; Horne Tooke, the Philologist; Wilson, the Magazine-Writer; Talfourd, the Dramatist; Beckford, the Traveller; Hazlitt, the Critic; Everett, the Orator; Godwin, the Reformer. It will be seen at once that the author does not design to treat each of these men as the most distinguished exponent or representative of the respective themes. It is more for the convenience of apportioning to them their due awards, through comparison with others, that he distinguishes one figure in each group of marked men. We have found the author eminently just and tolerant in his criticisms. He has no narrow prejudices to serve, no exclusive principles to maintain. We can commend this and his former volume as very valuable and instructive additions to the increasing library of essayists.

Louisiana; its Colonial History and Romance. By CHARLES GAYARRE. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 8vo. pp. 546.

THE excessively bad taste displayed in the Preface of this book, and the confession of the haste with which it was prepared, may perhaps deprive the author of many readers who would be attracted by his subject. Of the accuracy of its treat-

ment in details we are not qualified to judge. The author, who was prevented by ill health from taking the seat in the United States Senate to which he had been elected, was afterwards the Secretary of the State of Louisiana. He wields a skilful pen, and with a vigorous and animated style. We should judge that there is more of romance than of history in his pages, and, indeed, we cannot decide how much he expects or wishes us to receive as absolute verity. His theme, however, with its Indian, Spanish, and French incidents and actors, is wildly romantic, even in its clearly historical elements.

Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels. From the German of Goethe. A New Edition, revised. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 16mo. 2 vols. pp. 495, 482.

THIS is the first complete translation of Goethe's most popular work that has ever appeared in this country, while the portion of it which had twice been printed here has long been "out of print,"—an expression which means, not to be had at the bookstores. The variety of matter, in theme and incident, in criticism and narrative, which Goethe contrived to work up in many of his nondescript productions, is realized in this work in a way which always instructs and most often pleases. Under the form of a German student's or artisan's probationary drilling at his profession, and subsequent wanderings abroad to enlarge his sphere of life and thought, we have presented to us a medley of brilliant observations, of grotesque occurrences, and of profound criticisms, enough to make the staple of a dozen more methodical tales. The offensive characteristics of Goethe appear less in this than in several other of his productions. We regard this neat edition as a choice contribution to that noble collection of volumes for which our present readers are indebted to the enterprising and liberal firm, the members of which know something more about books than their merchantable value.

The Works of Horace; with English Notes. For the Use of Schools and Colleges. By J. L. LINCOLN, Professor of the Latin Language and Literature in Brown University. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp 575.

THIS is the best edition of Horace within our reach, whether for the tyro's task or for the scholar's enjoyment. Professor Lincoln has performed his work with admirable taste, and with excellent judgment. The apparatus which he has furnished is

gathered from all good sources, as well as from the results of his own labors. His *Life of Horace* is made to gleam with brilliant illustrations from the poems, and the poems are vivified by their connection with the personality and habitudes of the Venesian bard. The notes seem to us to keep the happy medium between that excess which does the student's work for him, and that niggardliness which is relaxed only for pedantic comment. The large, clear type of the book is a blessing to jaded eyes. We mean to read our favorite classic again, to show our appreciation of this edition.

* * * JOHN P. JEWETT & Co. have published a new edition of the famous Century Sermon of the Rev. Nathaniel Howe, of Hopkinton, with a Prefatory Sketch of his Life, Character, and Ministry, which was not to be had before. This Sermon, which has been a means of amusing interest among our ministers and laymen for more than thirty years, is a most original and racy document. It is one of the oddities of New England literature, though it has also higher characteristics. Many persons, after perusing it in an old borrowed and well-nigh worn-out copy, have expressed a strong desire to possess it. They can now be gratified.

The same publishers have sent us, "*The Grand Issue : an Ethico-Political Tract.* By Samuel Willard." 8vo. pp. 37. This is an earnest protest, by the venerable and sightless minister of Deerfield, against the Fugitive Slave Law. It is the most mild and Christian in its temper of any of the numerous pamphlets upon that pregnant theme which we have perused. After examining the Scripture rule of action in a case of collision between Divine and human law, the author argues that the Constitution does not give Congress any power to legislate for the restoration of fugitive slaves, and that no sound reason of wisdom or policy can be urged for it. He then appeals to the South to say whether it has kept the conditions of the national compact, and he condemns in conclusion the having recourse to any measure of resistance to law which shall involve force, or any thing but patient suffering of persecution.

"*The City of the Silent : a Poem,* by W. Gilmore Simms, delivered at the Consecration of Magnolia Cemetery, November 19, 1850." Charleston : Walker & James. 8vo. pp. 54. A poem of much merit, solemn and wise in its tones, with appropriate imagery, and a spirit befitting the occasion. Why are not poems rather than prose composition more commonly made the

vehicle of sentiment at the consecration of our cemeteries? We think such an occasion far more suited to the most touching and elevating strains of poetry, and far more likely to insure a good poem, than are our literary anniversaries.

“Popery : British and Foreign. By Walter Savage Landor.” London : Chapman & Hall. 1851. 12mo. pp. 63. This little squib, which has been shot off again in this country by Ticknor, Reed, & Fields, has disappointed us. There is more smoke than power in it. We looked, from the genius of the author, to have received something more worthy of his pen on a subject which we are told called forth in England one hundred and eighty publications in one month. Some sentences, however, are equally spicy and plain ; for instance, — “ Exactly in proportion to its distance from Popery is a nation industrious, free, and moral.” England is “divided into high church and low church : the Church of Christ is neither ; few clergymen know that ; none preach it. In the present day the Papists call themselves Catholics, the Protestants in England call themselves the same. Both lie, and both know they lie ; yet neither will give up the point.”

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review for April, 1851. — The printing of this Orthodox quarterly having been transferred from Princeton to Philadelphia, its form and appearance have greatly improved. With its respectable scholarship and its Calvinistic theology, it combines a solid good sense and much vigor in the treatment of religious and literary topics. We have in the number before us the following articles : — 1. An Essay on Foreign Missions and Millenarianism, which rejects the popular conception of the doctrine of the Millennium, and looks for the fulfilment of the true vision to the accomplishment of the whole work, — so well begun, so propitious in its progress, so inviting and sure in its final results, — the work of Christian Missions. — 2. A Sketch of the Life, Character, and Labors of *Æcolampadius*, the Reformer of Basle. This is founded upon the biography recently published by a book society at Neufchatel, from the pen of Dr. Herzog. A very interesting and discriminating view is here presented, and we are again made to realize the marvellous variety of gifts and talents in that company of men, scattered all over Europe, and all known to each other, who were raised up by God at an era when they were so necessary for a peculiar work. How long must we wait for a biography of *Ulric Zwingle*, the most truly liberal-minded and serene of all the Re-

formers? Our reviews have recently devoted many pages to a reëxamination of the respective merits of the Reformers, but many fresh points remain to be more thoroughly investigated. Mr. Dyer's *Life of John Calvin* has called out a storm of invective, but, as far as we can form a fair judgment in the case, the candor and integrity of his pen, and the authenticity of his testimonies, still stand without being justly impugned or invalidated. Dr. Henry's *Life of Calvin* has now been translated in England, and reprinted in this country. M. Audin, the Roman Catholic biographer of the Reformers, and one of the least scrupulous of controversialists, has recently died. — 3. *A Sketch of the Life of Socrates*, written with a prosaic honesty, and from a Christian point of view. What with the help of Plato, Schleiermacher, Dr. Wiggers, and Mr. Grote, we are now able to form a fair estimate of the Athenian sage. Our reviewer reminds us, that, among the other sins for which the stage has to answer, is that of having aided, through "*The Clouds of Aristophanes*," in bringing about the death of Socrates. There is a slight professional tinge in this article, indicated by the suggestion of the shortcomings and limitations of philosophy even in one of its master minds. Is it strictly true, that, while Socrates was reasoning upon a future life, he stumbled "at straws," and was "perplexed with things made so plain in Scripture, that a little child in a Christian family knows them"? — 4. *The Absurdities of certain Modern Theories of Education*, is the title of an article which greatly commends itself by plain speaking about much of the cant of the age, and by urging the true process for the education of the mind. We agree with all that the writer says upon the theories with high-sounding titles, — such as "the inductive system," "the productive," "the analytical," "the development," "the self-educating" *systems*, — which pretend to facilitate the work of teaching. There never was, and there never will be, but one effective system of teaching, and that is to engage the mind of the learner, and to convey to it something that could not be developed from it. — 5. *The True Test of an Apostolical Ministry*, is the title of a very candid article, based wholly upon Scriptural warrants fairly interpreted and applied. Its conclusion is, "that the primary and paramount criterion of an Apostolic ministry is conformity of doctrine to the Apostolic standard." — In the 6th and concluding article, Professor Park's reviewer returns to the attack upon that very significant Discourse on the Theology of the Intellect and the Theology of the Feelings. The reply to the Remarks of the Professor on his reviewer adds nothing to the substance of the controversy, but it certainly widens the breach between the Old School and the New, and by the acute discrimination between sentimental or rhetorical orthodoxy and the literalism of the old standards, it presents to us the same old issue under a new terminology.

The Prospective Review, No. 25, February, 1851. — The present number of this thin, but rich, quarterly is one of uncommon excellence. We are sorry that its able editors are obliged to preface it with an account of the diminished circulation of the work, and with an appeal to the public for a wider patronage. "They can no longer sustain," they say, "the pecuniary loss, and will need a considerable accession of subscribers to enable them to carry on the undertaking." This we most sincerely regret to hear, and hope that their appeal will not be in vain, in behalf of a work that holds so high a character.

The first article, on Kenrick's "*Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs*,"

is a sober paper on a subject that is still beset with doubts and puzzles, which correspond but poorly to the immense pretensions often advanced. The second, on Maurice's Sermons, "The Church a Family," is interesting and well done. It denies the possibility that the title of the book can be realized and its claim made good. The only doubt that has arisen in our minds, with regard to this and some other writings in a similar strain, is, whether in the zeal of dissent they may not have exaggerated a little the sacerdotal element in the English Church establishment. We must acknowledge, however, that they who feel the pinch have the best right to cry out. We next have a most reasonable and readable paper on a new edition of Yates's "Vindication of Unitarianism," indicating the changes that have been going on in liberal opinion since the work was first published, in 1815. The glory of this number, however, lies in the fourth article, "Europe since the Reformation." Without quoting largely, we could give our readers no idea of its close reasoning and superb rhetoric. It is candid and impassioned at the same time. We hardly know which most to admire, the keenness of its logic, or the splendor of its picturesque and learned style. We think we cannot err in ascribing it to the pen of Mr. Martineau. Charmed as we have been with his two magnificent articles in the Westminster Review, "The Church of England" and "The Battle of the Churches," we account this inferior to neither of them; and of course to no one of the eloquent productions which the warmth of the present Catholic controversy in England has stimulated. We commend it earnestly to readers of every description, who would be instructed in history, or who take any interest in the aspects of the time, or who can be entertained with the music of the most accomplished discourse.

The closing article, on Wordsworth's "Prelude," we must say, appears not quite worthy of the company with which it is associated. It is written in rather an inflated way, and contains a great deal of commonplace finery, — reminding us of a thin gauze robe stiff with spangles. The author displays a violent enthusiasm for French liberty, which sounds oddly at our time of the day. Several turgid periods bear witness to this. As for Mr. Wordsworth's right to be called "a mighty Poetical Revolutionist," we much question it. At any rate, "the mighty enterprise which cast down the gaudy throne of Darwin, and broke the feeble sceptre of Hayley," could not be much to speak of. Hayley, as a versifier, never had any ability to reign or to continue to live; and Dr. Darwin's throne, if there was ever such a thing, could be held up by Miss Anna Seward and a few admirers but a very short time, and crumbled into nothing of itself. Mr. Wordsworth's poetical rank will be differently assigned according to different tastes. For our own part, we were never able to set it very high. We remain unconvinced from the opinion that we entertained of him when his poetry first appeared. To us he is, with here and there a fine exception, pretty uniformly prosaic, — a moralizer rather than a bard. A few cantos of glorious old Sir Walter, — to mention no other or greater, — we should prefer to the whole burden of the Prelude, and the whole length of the Excursion, though they were both spun out into as many lines as they contain letters.

Messrs. Little & Brown have received from England a very elegant but cheap edition (the thirty-sixth) of Keble's *Christian Year*. This volume is probably well known to most of our readers, as embracing a

series of lyrical compositions on Scripture texts or mottoes, adapted to the Sundays and other sacred days of the year, arranged according to the calendar of the Episcopal Church. Some of the pieces have already found their way into our hymn-books. The whole volume is a rich, though not wholly unexceptionable, source of devotional culture.

John P. Jewett & Co. have published, in a very neat form, the third volume of the American edition of Grote's History of Greece, from the second London edition. More attention has been given in this volume to the correction of typographical errors. We have already spoken in high terms of the merits of this History, and hope that the enterprise of the American publishers will be so richly repaid, that they will be able to do justice to the author, whose labors they are legally free to appropriate.

Messrs Charles S. Francis & Co. of New York announce as in press, The Writings of Alexander Hamilton, and solicit subscriptions on terms which will give a subscriber an advantage over a subsequent purchaser. The work will embrace seven volumes, printed chiefly from manuscripts purchased by Congress, and of the highest historical value.

The Messrs. Harper are publishing, in semi-monthly numbers (of which four have thus far appeared), a work filled with original materials for such scenes as characterize the writings of Dickens and Thackeray. The title is, "London Labor and the London Poor, a Cyclopædia of the Social Condition and Earnings of Those that will work, Those that cannot work, and Those that will not work, in the British Metropolis. By Henry Mayhew." The author's contributions to the London Morning Chronicle have proved his eminent qualifications to treat his original theme with skill and faithfulness.

The same publishers have issued the fifth in their series of the Franconia Stories, and a very pleasant and instructive series it is for the young. The last is entitled "Beechnut."

The Monthly Magazine issued by this firm has attained to an unrivalled popularity. The variety of its contents adapts it to many different tastes, and if a reader peruses only a quarter of the contents of each number he receives an equivalent for the cost of the whole.

Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co. have published thirty-eight parts of their beautiful edition of Shakspeare. Two more parts will complete the work, which is certainly as cheap and valuable an edition of the great dramatist as was ever put forth.

Besides the works which we have already announced as in press by this firm is the following,—"Sketches of European Cities," by Rev. William Ware. We suppose this will embrace, with other matter, the rich and scholarly lectures which have been delivered by the author.

Messrs. Crosby and Nichols have in press the following:—Thoughts on Self-culture, addressed to Women. By Maria G. Grey, and her Sister, Emily Shirreff. 1 vol. 12mo. A book which has received high commendation from English critics.—A Treatise on the Christian Religion. By Athanase Coquerel. Translated from the French. A brief, but very comprehensive essay.—Closet Prayers, original and compiled from the Writings of Eminent and Holy Men of various Churches. By

Thomas Sadler. Mr. Sadler is one of the most efficient and esteemed of our brethren in England. We received a copy of the English edition of his little devotional volume, but too late to notice it in this number. — A cheap edition of the Life of Dr. Channing, in three volumes, 12mo, with two portraits, uniform with the Works, and to be furnished at one dollar and a half the set. This last work is now ready, and will be gladly received by many who could not purchase it at the original price.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

The Pope. — The Papal “institutions contain in themselves the elements of collision and disorder, and must necessarily form a system in which despotism and anarchy are mingled. It is, therefore, almost impossible to imagine a pontifical government at the same time strong and well ordered.”

An obstacle is put in the way of “the organization of the government by the state of public opinion, — a state which is manifested with a perseverance unexampled in all classes of the population in relation to the actual condition of things. We must not conclude from this aversion, so strongly manifested, that the population of the Roman States is infected with the revolutionary spirit. With the exception of a fickle crowd, such as one sees in agitation more or less over all Europe, and which in the Roman States prevailed *only through the feebleness and disorganization of the government*, the generality of the population abhors the Mazzinian régime, which has left behind it no agreeable reminiscences. The higher classes demand a government strong and regular, like that of the other European states. At the present moment they despair of obtaining it.”

This is the language of an Austrian organ in Italy. Interpret these words as we have of late learned to interpret the language of Austrian diplomacy, and they read, “The Papal temporal sovereignty has outlived its time, and we are determined to supplant it.” Accordingly, Austrian battalions are planting themselves in the States of the Church, to enforce the policy of the cabinet of Vienna. When, some time since, the Pope was recreating at Gaeta, it was arranged that Spanish troops should occupy Spoleto and Terni, but the Spaniards have now evacuated those towns, and the Austrians hold them in their possession. Under feeble pretexts, which an ambitious power knows so well how to trump up, they have garrisoned Terni, the birthplace of Tacitus, and thrown soldiers into the celebrated Franciscan convent at the beautiful town of Assise. Their troops are permanently stationed but an easy two days’ march from Rome, and another journal says, “The Austrians continue to invade the country.” Italy’s too “fatal gift of beauty” will soon prove an apple of discord among her foreign invaders. In the North, the Austrians have long “shed her blood and drank the tears of her distress,” and now the parental government which has conquered Lombardy and restored peace to Hungary finds time, while dictating the policy of Germany, to consider the “incapacity” of clerical dominion and the unhappy condition of the inhabitants of Central Italy. The man at the head of that cabinet is even more able, energetic, and unscrupulous than the celebrated Metternich.

In the mean time, the condition of that weak pontiff, Pius the Ninth, is

miserable in the extreme. The French are pulling the wires at the Vatican; the Austrians are drawing a strong cordon of troops around the capital, and there is not a foot of his principality which he can call his own. Soon, perhaps, he will be doomed to witness the struggle of the invaders, and to fall a passive victim into the hands of the victor.

"The stranger's sword
Is his sad weapon of defence, and so,
Victor or vanquished, he the slave of friend or foe."

The recent converts to Catholicism will probably have the satisfaction of looking up, not only to an Austrian puppet (for that has long been the case), but to an acknowledged Austrian subject, as their spiritual head. While that Church has made, in the last quarter of a century, progress which has put Protestantism to shame, and almost brought its permanency into question, it seems in a fair way to lose even its nominal temporal power. The language of the Austrian organ is not reform, — the remedy is to be a sterner one. If language means any thing, and they are permitted to carry out their purpose, we can look for nothing less than a reconstitution of the States of the Church. What will those Papists say who connect temporal power with their ideas of the Church of Christ? and what will they say if the tiara should become the gift of the Austrian Emperor, and their spiritual and infallible Head dwindle to a dependant, compelled to watch the smiles of a court for his precarious dignity? There is a singular contrast between the pitiful condition of the Pope at home, and the agitation and excitement in England on account of his "audacious aggressions."

The Hungarian Protestants. — A convention in January last, at Pesth, had in discussion two important points in the internal economy of the national church; — 1. The entire separation of the Hungarian and the Slavonian elements. 2. The surrender of their schools to the care of the state.

The impossibility of retaining in harmony two such incongruous elements as the Slavonian and Hungarian within the limits of one church, with no tie save that of a few points of faith in common, has long been evident. The Hungarians (or Magyars, as we must now call them) are, for the most part, rich and powerful. The Slavonians, on the other hand, are of the poorer and middle classes. The difficulty of making an equitable division of the church property only has held them together; and, after long discussions and fruitless efforts, it has been decided to lay the matter before an impartial commissioner, appointed by the government, whose decision shall be final. The Magyars despise the Slavonians, and the Slavonians hate the Magyars. The Slavonians invited a preacher to come to them, who was notorious as the leader of a band of Slavonic volunteers in the war of the revolution, at which some of the more wealthy took umbrage, and went over to the Magyar Church. Perhaps this incident may throw some light on the state of feeling prevalent among that class of people toward the government. It is certainly true, that the Slavonians were the first to appeal to the Austrians for help in their controversy with the Magyars, and the referee was appointed by their especial request. A still more interesting light is thrown upon their character, by the fact, that, when this military preacher had declined the office, and the parish were proceeding to vote upon another candidate, the female portion, to whom

he was especially obnoxious, not content with entering their protest at home, invaded the hall where their husbands were assembled, and declared their *ultimatum*. It was, that if this candidate should be chosen, he should have none of the fairer sex to hear him, and with this declaration these modern Spartans actually went over to pacify their indignation under the preaching of the Magyar Szekacs.

The other question, in relation to the schools, is explained by the fact, that hitherto every one of the numerous religious sects of Hungary has supported its own schools out of its own funds, and retained to itself the oversight of them; and it is to the credit of the Protestant population, that, although by no means the richest class, their schools have been, to say the least, surpassed by none. The Austrian government claims the right to assume the care of all the schools throughout the realm, and appeals to the Protestants of the Pesth military district to surrender those belonging to them, or retain them as private institutions. The convention before whom the matter is brought refuses, and bases its refusal upon two points; — 1. That the question should be brought before an assembly delegated from all Protestant Hungary. 2. That all laws of late passed are only *provisional*, destined to go through the revision of the parliament of the realm, and perhaps undergo many alterations.

The history of the Protestant Hungarian Church during the last two years is the best explanation of the second singular clause. On the success of the Austrian arms, the religious institutions of that unfortunate portion of her subjects passed with their political ones into the hands of a military dictator. The flock of Christ was intrusted to the tender mercies of Field-Marshal Baron Haynau, the hyena of Brescia, and forthwith there began to appear at Vienna the representatives of every sect that exists in Hungary, (and what sect is not to be found there?) praying for the restoration of their ancient immunities, and bewailing that their churches were governed by martial law, and *officered*, instead of watched by faithful pastors. Those hordes who had sent their picturesque soldiery to plunder the Austrian capital under Jellachich, now sent their picturesque prelates to sue at the footstool of that empire whose tottering fabric their hands had been the first to support. Within a few weeks of each other came to Vienna, with petitions, bishops of the Catholic Church of the East and the Catholic Church of Rome, and the adherents of Calvin and of Luther. The grievances of the Protestant Church were plain, and they were met by fair promises. From time out of mind, her affairs had been directed by conventions of elected representatives, — her instruction had gone on without interference from the state. So strongly had she insisted upon this, that, when in September, 1848, the government then in power proposed to pay both preachers and teachers out of the funds of the state, she declined, through fear that her independence might be compromised.

In 1850, a proclamation of Haynau withdrew all these rights from the Protestant Church. By power of this, Lutheran superintendents, without imputation of any political offence, were uncereemoniously discharged, and the inferior officers were deprived of their places. The various conventions were dissolved, and in place of the old superintendentships were substituted military districts, whose overseers were appointed by the commander of the army. To them, and to such of the laity as they should select, were to be intrusted the affairs of the Protes-

tant Church, which was thus converted into a kind of military hierarchy. Haynau's conception of the office of religion in human affairs was evidently very limited, and he showed an ignorance of human nature, if he supposed that even a crushed and conquered people will tamely suffer their religion to be insulted. The Magyars shut a church in the face of one of these military appointed pastors, and in another place the church-members declined receiving the elements at the hands of one of them.

Under the weight of such grievances, they petitioned for a renewal of their self-governing privileges, and a reëstablishment of their institutions of instruction on the old foundation. The first has been accorded them. The second they have not yet obtained, that we are aware of; but, under the circumstances, the convention at Pesth had at least the right to hint that they were living in uncertainty, that no one need suppose the present laws permanent, but that the days might come when the old and hitherto respected rights of the realm would be returned to them.

The Revival of the Papal Hierarchy in England.—Two Bulls were received in England near the close of the last year, one in stone, and one on parchment, but the excitement caused by the latter has far exceeded the enthusiasm which might have been expected to attend the former. One of them was the Great Bull of Nineveh, which, through Mr. Layard's exertions, has been disinterred, and, in all its old heathen hideousness, is safely deposited in the British Museum. Had it not been for the Papal Bull under the seal of "The Fisherman at Rome," which so soon followed it, there is no knowing but that the ancient pagan idol might have called forth some degree of grumbling from some offended Englishman. But the Pope's Bull has absorbed all the interest which men have to expend upon the passing occasion that most engages their feelings. Only two Englishmen have been created Cardinals of the Roman Church since the Reformation. Cardinal Wiseman, who has just been raised to that ecclesiastical rank, is the only one who has connected with his office a mission in England, and now, as Archbishop of Westminster, he is the primate of the Roman Church in England, and the metropolitan over twelve suffragan bishops, into whose sees the realm of England is divided. All this has been brought about by the aforesaid Bull of Pius the Ninth, and all the people of England who would secure the blessings of salvation through Jesus Christ are warned to subject themselves to the ecclesiastical direction of the restored hierarchy.

Our English papers are filled with narrations, letters, speeches, and the records of public proceedings and demonstrations called forth by this measure of the Pope. For the most part, the tone of all these documents is extremely passionate, not to say furious and threatening. Several side issues are raised, and, together with the main controversy, have caused a state of excitement which could hardly be surpassed if England were actually at war with the Continent. As we have perused the papers, and noted the anger, or timidity, or spite, or just feelings, which have been expressed by various classes of Englishmen, from the Prime Minister and the Archbishop of Canterbury down to the Lord Mayor of London, the parish vestries, and the street mobs on Guy Faux's day, we have had suggested to our minds a somewhat similar excitement growing out of a somewhat similar cause, which, nearly a

century ago, agitated the good people of the Colony of Massachusetts. If the field which was covered by the excitement here was narrower and the ground of apprehension a whit less visionary, — which latter supposition we should doubt, — the feeling, the stout-hearted and resolute feeling, which was aroused in Massachusetts on the occasion to which we refer, was as sternly engaged in resisting what was looked upon as an impudent priestly encroachment as it now is in England. The occasion was this. While the town of Boston and the thriving and happy villages of New England were enjoying the institutions of the Christian religion under churches of their own establishment, and with pastors appointed by those who supported them and looked to them for spiritual help, this peaceful state of things was twice threatened in the years 1763 and 1767. An Episcopal society, formed in England for the charitable purpose of propagating the Gospel in benighted and destitute places, by a strange perversion of its object and its funds, sent hither some thirty missionaries of the Church of England, to establish their contentious ministers in places where the Gospel was already faithfully preached and generously sustained. The project was entertained of sending over a bishop of the English Church to set up his see here and to rule over the Lord's brethren. True to the instinct of freedom which is to be traced to the very first religious and political institutions established on this soil, our fathers at once steadily resisted this usurping design, and resisted it successfully. England has never planted her bishops here. Some fancy bishops of our own growth pursue their harmless circuits amid churches each of which recognizes its own pastor as a true evangelical bishop. In the brisk and ardent controversy which the intended usurpation called out here, the Rev. Dr. Mayhew, of the West Church in this city, a man of brilliant gifts, of a sound scholarship, and a most racy wit, sustained the cause of religious freedom against Archbishop Secker. Many of our readers must have seen in the libraries of their fathers a portrait of Dr. Mayhew, with the wreath of victory encircling his countenance, while a broken crosier and an overturned mitre indicate the nature of the strife in which he triumphed.

The intense excitement which for more than six months has prevailed among all classes in reference to the recent measure of the Pope, had not one whit abated at our last advices. It is founded upon the intelligent and well assured conviction, that the establishment of the Papal hierarchy in that Protestant realm is a circumstance of disastrous omen to religious liberty, to the supremacy of the civil law in civil matters, to the integrity of the courts of justice, and to the interests of education and progress. Three incidents, contemporaneous with the main cause of popular alarm, have served to inflame the "No Popery" feeling by materials which appeal most forcibly to the Protestant zeal of England: namely, the prohibition passed by the Synod of Thurles against the Parliamentary colleges established in Ireland for the free secular education of all classes; the case of Metaire against Wiseman, in which the charge of unlawful influence used by a Roman priest to obtain a bequest from a dying miser is at issue; and, third, an appeal of Mr. Berkeley in behalf of a step-daughter, a ward in chancery, who it is alleged is a *postulant* in a convent, and about to take the veil, thus committing to the priests her fortune of £80,000. The Roman Church is thus presented in three of its most odious as-

pects to the zealous Protestantism of all classes, while statesmen and bishops are careful to secure for the Papal aggression a complete discussion in all its bearings upon the honor and religion of the realm. The Prime Minister of Great Britain committed himself at the very opening of the excitement by a very free-spoken, indignant, and threatening expression of his feelings, in an unofficial, though public, letter to the Bishop of Durham. Of course, therefore, the opening of Parliament was looked forward to with lively interest, to test whether his official course would sustain his private ardor. The bill brought before the House of Commons prohibits, under a fine of £ 100 for each offence, the assumption of a territorial title by any ecclesiastic, not authorized by the civil power, — makes void any instrument executed by such an intruder, — and forbids the bequest of property into the care or use of any such ecclesiastic. Leave to introduce this bill was granted by a vote of 395 against 63. In the mean while, the ministry, being defeated on other measures, resigned, but returned to power after it was found impossible to organize another from the opposition or from factions. The bill, having been slightly modified, passed to a second reading by a very large majority, and though it fails to satisfy the nation at large, has been most passionately assailed by Roman Catholic members. Mr. Drummond allowed himself, in debate, some freedom of speech upon Roman Catholic practices, and a scene of confusion ensued resembling those which "Western members" sometimes enact in our own Congress.

The action of Parliament on this subject is beset with many embarrassments. In no other country of Europe, not even in those thoroughly Roman Catholic, is the Pope allowed to appoint territorial bishops. He has ventured to thrust them upon England and Ireland, on the plea that they are necessary to the perfection of the religious privileges of his adherents in that realm. It is difficult for us to see how England can withstand his exercise of this authority, — so long as any of her subjects are his subjects also. If there are those in England who choose to divide their allegiance between a temporal prince and a spiritual prince, how can they be restrained? The only feasible course would seem to be to strike at the root of the evil, and so to educate and train all her subjects, that no one among them would admit the right of the Bishop of Rome to look beyond his own rotten diocese for an enforcement of claims which can be sustained in appearance only among his own subjects, and only by French and Austrian bayonets even among them.

Our own Unitarian brethren in England, with but two or three exceptions, have opposed all Parliamentary action which should carry with it the slightest degree of intolerance. They think that the interests of religious liberty will finally be served by the Papal measure which seems to threaten them.

INDEX.

A.

- Academies, The, and Public High Schools of Massachusetts, Article on, 18-45 — Expenses of, 20-25 — Statistics of, 23 — Studies, Discipline, and Life in, 27-30 — Sec-tarianism in, 31 — Relative Value of, 33-45.
- Adam, Men before. Article on, 79-96.
- Adams, J. Q., his Efforts in behalf of the Observatory of Harvard University, 265.
- Agassiz, Prof. L., his Principles of Zoölogy, noticed, 359 — His Edition of Hugh Miller's Work, 143.
- Almanac, The American, for 1851, noticed, 145.
- Alton Locke, an Autobiography, noticed, 143.
- Andrews, Dr. E. A., his Edition of Freund's Lexicon, noticed, 352.
- Authon, Dr. C., his Classical Dictionary, noticed, 352.
- Atheism, as professed by Miss Martineau and H. G. Atkinson, 491.
- Athenæum, Boston, Pres. Quincy's History of, noticed, 355.
- Atkinson, H. G., his Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development, 489-502.

B.

- Batthyányi, 311.
- Beard, Dr. J. R., his Scriptural Works, 153.
- Bemis, George, his Report of the Case of Dr. Webster, 144.
- Bernard, St., Translation from, 53.
- Biblical Trinity, A, noticed, 140.
- Bigelow, John, his Jamaica in 1850, noticed, 134-138.
- Bond, Wm. C., and his Sons, their Connection with the Observatory of Harvard University, and their Discoveries, 266-279.
- Borrow, George, his Lavengro, noticed, 364, 504.
- Bowen, Charles J., his Ordination, 156.
- Burton, Warren, his District School as it was, noticed, 145.
- Bushnell, Horace, his Christ in Theology, noticed, 513.

C.

- Channing, Rev. W. H., his Memoir of James H. Perkins, reviewed, 157-174.
- Cheever, Rev. H. T., his Island World of the Pacific, noticed, 356.
- Chinese Proclamation against Christianity, 365.
- Cincinnati twenty years ago, 159.
- Clarke, Rev. S. F., his Centennial Discourse at Athol, noticed, 362.
- Comte, Auguste, his Cours de Philosophie Positive, reviewed, 174-202 — His Style and Method, 175 — His Experiences, 177 — Design and Spirit of the Work, 179-183 — Plan and Treatment, 185-193 — Views of Society and Science, 194 — His Religious Belief, 196-202.
- Contemplations of God in the Kosmos, 1-17.
- Cordner, Rev. John, his Sermons on Christ and the Trinity, noticed, 362.
- Craig, Rev. Austin, his Marks of the True Church, noticed, 362.
- Creation not Development, 3 — The Manifestation of Thought, 5 — God in Creation, 7-10 — Creation of Organized Beings, 11 — Distribution and Reproduction, 13-15.
- Creed, the Apostles', so called, 401.
- Cushing, Luther S., his Edition of Domat's Civil Law, noticed, 138.

D.

- Davis, Dr. Emerson, his History of the Half-Century, noticed, 355.
- Death and Life, the Christian Doctrine of, Article on, 429-449 — Physical Death, 439 — Origin of, 441 — Man subjected to it, 445.
- Dedication, 156.
- Domat, Jean, on the Civil Law, noticed, 138.

E.

- Edney, Richard, and the Governor's Family, a Tale, noticed, 140.
- Epidemics in Massachusetts, 387.
- Epidemic Monomania, Article on, 457-478 — Universal Delusions, 459 — Religious Delusions, 467 — Belief in Demoniacal Agency, 469.

F.

Faith, Justification by, Article on, 254 - 264.

Forman, Rev. J. G., his Sermon on the Fugitive Slave Law, noticed, 360.

G.

Gannett, Rev. Dr., his Sermon on Thanksgiving for the Union, noticed, 360.

Garland, Hugh A., his Life of John Randolph, noticed, 145.

Gayarre, Charles, his History and Romance of Louisiana, noticed, 514.

Gilfillan, George, his Bards of the Bible, noticed, 364.

Goethe's Wilhelm Meister, noticed, 515.

Gould, A. A., his Principles of Zoology, 359.

Grote, George, a Reprint of his History of Greece, 363, 520.

H.

Hall, Rev. N., his Sermon on the Limits of Civil Obedience, noticed, 360.

Hapsburg, the House of, 321.

Harvard University, see *Observatory*.

Hawthorne, Nath., his Twice-Told Tales, and House of the Seven Gables, noticed, 508.

Hayward, A., his Translation of Goethe's Faust, noticed, 359.

"He descended into Hell," Article on, 401 - 416 — Meaning of, 404 — Its Supposed Scriptural Authority, 408.

High Schools, see *Academies*.

Hillard, George S., his Address before the Mercantile Library Association, noticed, 147.

Holland, Lord, his Foreign Reminiscences, noticed, 507.

Howe, Rev. Nathaniel, his Century Sermon at Hopkinton, noticed, 516.

Howe, Dr. S. G., his Reports on Idiocy, 103.

Humboldt, William von, his Religious Thoughts and Opinions, 148.

Hungarian, Protestants, The, 522.

Hungary, Sketch of the Origin and Character of its recent Struggle, with an Examination of Authorities in reply to the North American Review, 279 - 352. — The Races of, 285. — Languages of, 288 - 294 — Invasion of, 303 - 309.

I.

Idiots, Dr. Howe's Reports to the Legislature of Mass. on the Training of, Article on, 103 - 133 — Action of the Legislature, 104 — Idiots in Europe, 107 - 114 — Massachusetts School for, 115 — Training of, 117 — Results of, 119 — Number of Idiots in Mass., 125.

Indian Antiquities in North America, 417 - 428.

Insanity, Forms of, 465 — Sympathetic, 471 - 474.

Installation, 156.

J.

Jamaica in 1850, by John Bigelow, noticed, 134 - 135.

Jane Bouverie, a Tale, reviewed, 478 - 489.

Jellachich, Ban of Croatia, 297, 319, 351.

Johnston, James F. W., his Notes on North America, noticed, 512.

Justification by Faith, Article on, 254 - 264. — Doctrine of, in the Old Testament, 255. — St. Paul's, 257. — The Christian Doctrine, 261. — Illustrations of, 262 - 264.

K.

Kane, Thomas L., his Discourse on the Mormons, noticed, 363.

Knox, Robert, on the Races of Men, noticed, 502.

Kosmos, Contemplations of God in the, Article on, 1 - 17.

L.

Landon, W. S., his Popery, British and Foreign, noticed, 517.

Lavater, Translation from, 54.

Lavengro, by George Borrow, noticed, 364, 504.

Lawrence Academy, 24.

Life and Death, the Christian Doctrine of, Article on, 429 - 449 — Meaning of Scripture Words, 431 — Metaphorical Terms, 433 - 438.

Lincoln, Prof. J. L., his Edition of Horace, noticed, 515.

Lord, William W., his Poem, Christ in Hades, noticed, 506.

Lycanthropy, or Wolf-Madness, 463.

M.

Mailáth, 317.

Mansfield, E. D., on American Education, noticed, 146.

- Martineau, Harriet, her Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development, reviewed, 489-502 — Extracts, 491, 492 — Atheistic Basis of, 491 — Fallacies of, 495.
- Massachusetts, Report on the Sanitary Survey of, reviewed, with Extracts, 381-400 — Epidemics in, 387.
- M'Cosh on the Divine Attributes, noticed, 511.
- Men before Adam, Article on, 79-96.
- Mesmerism, a Pseudo Science, 497-500.
- Miller, Hugh, his Foot-Prints of the Creator, noticed, 143.
- Ministry, Vitality of the, 379.
- Monomania, Epidemic, Article on, 457-478.
- Montaigne, The Endless Study, and other Miscellanies, by Vinet, noticed, 142.
- Morgan, Lewis H., his League of the Iroquois, reviewed, 417-428.
- O.
- Observatory, the Astronomical, of Harvard University, Article on, 264-279 — Origin of, 265 — Instruments and Observations, 267 — The Great Refractor, 269 — Discoveries at, 271-276 — The Spring Governor, 277.
- Ordination, 156.
- P.
- Paget, John, on Hungary, 337.
- Papal Aggression in England, 524.
- Park, Prof. E. A., his Remarks on a Review of his Convention Discourse, 363.
- Parker, Rev. T., his Sermon on the State of the Nation, noticed, 360.
- Paul, St., on Justification by Faith, 259.
- Perkins, James H., Memoir and Writings of, reviewed, with Extracts, 157-174 — His Literary and Mercantile Life, 161 — Missionary, Teacher, and Preacher, 163 — His Character, 173.
- Peter, First Epistle of, iii. 19, 20, expounded, 409.
- Phrenology, a Pseudo Science, 493.
- Poetry, A Dark Morning, 46 — The Last of "The Strung Pearls," 47 — Longing after the Contemplation of the Invisible, 48 — Jesu Dulcis Memoria, 53 — "He must increase, but I must decrease," 54 — The Leipsic Tournament, 450 — The Loss of the Anio, 452 — In Memory of F. W. R., 456.
- Pope, The, 521.
- Possession, Demoniical, 461.
- Preaching, and the Afternoon Service, Article on, 369-381 — Excess of Preaching, 370 — The Preacher's Task, 371 — His Experience, 373 — Evening Service, 375.
- Princeton Review, The, noticed, 517.
- Prospective Review, The, noticed, 518.
- Q.
- Quincey, Thomas De, his Miscellaneous Essays, 360 — His Cæsars, 506.
- Quincy, Josiah, his History of the Boston Athenæum, noticed, 355.
- R.
- Randolph, John, his Life, by H. A. Garland, noticed, 145.
- Reflections, 96-102.
- Review, North American, see *Hungary*.
- Rückert, Translation from, 47.
- S.
- Sanitary Survey of Massachusetts, 381.
- Schlesinger, Max, on Hungary, 345-349.
- Science and Theology, 201.
- Simms, W. G., his Poem at Magnolia Cemetery, noticed, 516.
- Sinclair, Catherine, her Jane Bouverie, reviewed, 478-489.
- Skinner, Rev. O. A., his Sermon on Duty to Government and to God, 360.
- Smith, Dr. William, his Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, 352.
- Socinianism, Sketch of, 221 — Unpopularity of, 225 — Relation to Unitarianism, 220.
- Socinians, Character of, 223.
- Socinus, Lælius, 509 — Faustus, 212 — His Life and Opinions, 213-215 — Death, 216 — His Influence, 217.
- Southey, Robert, his Life and Correspondence, by Rev. C. C. Southey, reviewed, 228-254 — General Character of the Work, 229 — Estimate of Southey, 231 — His Birth, 233 — Education, 234-238

— Marriages, 239 - 252 — Visits Portugal, 241 — Publications, 243 — Contributions to the Quarterly Review, 245 — Poet Laureate, 247 — Wat Tyler, 249 — His Politics, 251 — Death and Character, 253.
 Sprague, Charles, his Writings, noticed, 510.
 Squier, E. G., his Work on the Indian Antiquities of North America, 417 - 421.
 Strickland, Agnes, her Lives of the Queens of Scotland, 357.
 Sumner, Charles, his Orations and Speeches, 144.
 Sunday, the Uses and Capabilities of, Article on, 55 - 79 — The Jewish Sabbath, 57 — Anti-Sabbatarians, 59 — Sanction of Sunday, 61 — Conditions for Sunday, 65 - 68 — The Name of Sunday, 69 — Uses of Sunday, 71 — Rest, 73 — Improvement, 75 — Religious Uses, 77 — Services and Occupations, 377.
 Szechényi, 315.
 Szemere, Prime Minister, 346.

T.

Theology and Science, 201.
 Transylvania, 329.
 Tuckerman, H. T., his Poems, noticed, 509 — His Characteristics of Literature, noticed, 514.
 Turnbull, Robert, his Translations from Vinet, noticed, 142.

U.

Ujházy, Governor, 323.
 Unitarian Biography, American, by Rev. William Ware, noticed, 357.

Unitarian Society, London District, 154.

Unitarianism in the 16th and 17th Centuries, Article on, 202 - 223 — At the Reformation, 207 — In Italy, 209 — In Poland, 211 — Persecution of, 219 — Relation to Socinianism, 221 — And the Bible, 227.

V.

Vinet, Translations from, by Dr. Turnbull, 142.

W.

Wallace, Rev. Robert, his Antitrinitarian Biography, reviewed, 202 - 228. — His Plan, 203. — Merits of his Work, 205.
 Ware, Rev. W., his American Unitarian Biography, noticed, 357.
 Waverley Poetry, The, noticed, 356.
 Webster, Prof., Bemis's Report of his Case, 144.
 Wesselényi, 331.
 Whipple, E. P., his Essays and Reviews, 357.
 Willard, L., Translations from the French, 358.
 Willard, Dr. S., his Ethico-Political Tract, 516.
 Williams Dr. W. R., his Discourses on Religious Progress, noticed, 146.
 Williston Seminary, 25.

Y.

Yates, James, his Vindication of Unitarianism, 153.

Yeoman, Dr. T. H., on Consumption, 148.

Z.

Zchokke, Translation from, 48.

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THE

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AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

N^o. CLXIII.

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
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
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
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